

**“WON’T WE NEVER GET OUT OF THIS STATE?”:
WESTERN SOLDIERS IN POST-CIVIL WAR TEXAS, 1865-1866**

A Thesis

by

JONATHAN A. BEALL

Submitted to the Office of Graduate Studies of
Texas A&M University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

December 2004

Major Subject: History

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ABSTRACT

“Won’t We Never Get Out of This State?”:

Western Soldiers in Post-Civil War Texas, 1865-1866.

(December 2004)

Jonathan A. Beall, B.S., Indiana Wesleyan University

Chair of Advisory Committee: Dr. Joseph G. Dawson

After the Civil War, the government needed to send an occupation force into Texas to help rebuild the state government and confront the French Imperialist forces that had invaded Mexico. Unfortunately, the government was required to use volunteers because the Regular Army was not yet prepared to handle such a mission. Using citizen soldiers for peacetime occupation was a break from past military tradition, and the men did not appreciate such an act.

Historians of Reconstruction Texas have focused on state politics, the rampant violence in the state throughout this period, and the role of freedmen in situating themselves to an uncertain and hostile society. Studies of the military in post-Civil War Texas have examined the army’s role in the state’s political reconstruction, but largely ignore the soldiers. Additionally, these works tend to over-generalize the experience and relations of the troops and Texans.

This thesis looks at Western citizen soldiers, comprising the Fourth and Thirteenth Army Corps as well as two cavalry divisions, stationed in Texas after the war from the Rio Grande to San Antonio to Marshall. Beginning with the unit’s receiving

official orders to proceed to Texas after the surrender of the principal Confederate forces in 1865, it follows the movements from wartime positions in Tennessee and Alabama to peacetime posts within Texas. The study examines Texan-soldier relations as they differed from place to place. It also investigates the Westerners' peacetime occupation duties and the conditions endured in Texas. The thesis argues that there was diversity in both the Western volunteers' experiences and relations with occupied Texans, and it was not as monolithic as past historians have suggested. Specifically, this study endeavors to supplement the existing historiography of the army in Texas during Reconstruction. Broadly, this thesis also hopes to be a more general look at the use of citizen soldiers for postwar occupation duty.

To my family and friends for their generous emotional, spiritual, social, and financial support.

To Dr. Glenn Martin (1935-2004) for being a godsend in my intellectual and spiritual development and maturation. The LORD only knows how much he has influenced my mind and my thinking.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This thesis is due in a great part to the hard work of other people. Much of the research was done at various archives. Without the aid and assistance of archivists to make me aware of other papers, personalities, and numerous photocopies at the Indiana Historical Society, Illinois State Historical Library, Ohio Historical Society, and Wisconsin State Historical Society, and the National Archives, this thesis would have been very difficult to write. Archivists at other historical agencies at places like the University of Virginia, University of Michigan, and the Chicago Historical Society willingly supplied photocopies although I never had the opportunity to physically use their facilities. I am equally grateful to the interlibrary loan staff at Evans Library for tracking down rare and hard to find books by these soldiers and to the staff at the Maps/GIS Room of the Texas A&M University library for putting together my maps on such short notice.

My committee was critical in fleshing out ideas and understanding the context of the South at this time. My thesis advisor, Dr. Joseph Dawson, helped provide the proper foundation of historical works to read and ponder before I began serious research and writing. His many revisions of my drafts were thorough and showed his patience as a scholar and mentor. Dr. Walter Buenger provided assistance when I needed it regarding Texan society and helping me to understand the context of the South's mindset at this time. He offered solid criticisms of the thesis, and I hope that this thesis does credit to Texas history. Dr. James Burk has helped me to think outside the "historical box" and to

value the potential of historical sociology. The idea of seeing these Westerners as citizen soldiers, and not just volunteers, is due to our discussions and the readings he provided me.

My friends and colleagues within the History Department have helped make my classes and the processes of researching and writing this thesis more bearable. My officemates, namely Lee Daub, Clay Baird, Roger Horky, and our weekly night out, have made my time at Texas A&M an enjoyable one. Last, but never least, the support of my parents, Richard and Deanna Beall, have been instrumental in my decision to study history at the graduate level. I am here because of their hard work and the investment they have made and continue to make in my life. I am truly indebted for all my parents have done for me.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION: CINCINNATUS REJECTED

As the Civil War closed in May 1865, there was a great need for the Union Army to occupy the South. This was no less true in Texas, where a general condition of lawlessness and chaos pervaded and the Confederate Department of the Trans-Mississippi had disintegrated. A sizable Federal invading force became an occupation force in Texas with the timely surrender of the department's commander, General Edmund Kirby Smith on May 26. In addition, the French Intervention into Mexico required U.S. military units to deploy along the Rio Grande, in the event of a war with France.

As might be expected, the volunteer soldiers were not excited about remaining in the Union Army and going to postwar Texas. Nevertheless, go they did. Approximately fifty thousand soldiers went to Texas shortly after the Civil War and as much as 70 percent of that force, or thirty-five thousand, was stationed along the Rio Grande to counter the French Intervention. Men from the Fourth, Thirteenth, and the all-black Twenty-fifth Army Corps moved to Texas, supported by two cavalry divisions. The Federal high command stationed many Union soldiers from Brownsville to Austin to Galveston to Marshall, where they had little to do. The men's sense of honor and duty was tested, because they simply wanted to go home. The units' various stays in Texas aggravated this testing. The War Department discharged many in September 1865, most left in November and December of 1865 but some regiments stayed until May 1866.

This thesis follows the style and format of the *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*.

The history of Reconstruction in Texas is long and violent. Arguably, this was because President Andrew Johnson's lenient policies during Presidential Reconstruction allowed the South to resist the more radical measures during Congressional Reconstruction, but it also might have been aggravated by the military presence in 1865. This requires an examination into the relations between Texans and soldiers: was it a hostile occupation or did it vary in the state from region to region? Likewise, what was life like in Texas for these northern occupiers? By studying regiments from the Old Northwest (men from Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, Ohio, and Wisconsin), this thesis investigates two aspects of that occupation force: the social relations of Texans and the Western volunteer soldiers, and a more focused look at occupation duty in post-Civil War Texas from mid-1865 to mid-1866.

Two dissertations dealing with Texas, Reconstruction, and the military form the basis of any research on the topic: William Richter's "The Army in Texas During Reconstruction, 1865-1870" and Robert Shook's "Federal Occupation and Administration of Texas, 1865-1870."¹ However, these two works use a top-down approach where generals and politicians are the main actors, not the individual soldiers. The volunteers may have pondered national politics and Reconstruction, but Richter and Shook rarely consider the soldiers' point of view. Richter and Shook also examine the Army's presence in Texas as one monolithic event, not distinguishing between

¹ William Richter, "The Army in Texas During Reconstruction, 1865-1870," (Ph.D. Diss., Louisiana State University, 1970); Robert Walter Shook, "Federal Occupation and Administration of Texas, 1865-1870," (Ph.D. Diss., North Texas State University, 1970). Richter later published his dissertation as William L. Richter, *The Army in Texas During Reconstruction, 1865-1870* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1987).

occupation by the citizen soldiers from 1865 to mid-1866 and occupation by the Regular Army from 1866 to 1870.

As such, Richter and Shook paint the military experience of Texas Reconstruction with broad strokes that miss subtler elements upon closer inspection. Without a doubt, the soldiers did not want to be in Texas, but that did not necessarily translate into dangerously low morale, discipline problems, or mutiny for every regiment as Richter and Shook may seem to imply. Moreover, Shook argues that “a military force too few in numbers, too divided on purpose, and so generally concerned with the obligation to operate under the law” prevented the Army from making real social or political change in Texas.² Accordingly, he describes the soldiers’ experience in Texas in bleak terms. In contrast, Richter asserts that the army made a profound difference in Texas, especially in state politics.³ Richter also focuses on the dismal nature of the men’s assignment, alluding to a mutiny by the 48th Ohio Volunteer Infantry as if it were representative of the men’s time in Texas.⁴ Richter even contends that “the volunteers provided more problems. War-weary and homesick, these citizen soldiers vented their frustration on the local populace, blacks, and one another.”⁵ Both historians rely heavily on the same sources to gauge the attitudes of the enlisted men—published postwar memoirs. In another study, Harry Pfanz writes about soldiers in Reconstruction Texas in

² Robert Walter Shook, “Federal Occupation and Administration of Texas,” 6.

³ Richter, “The Army in Texas During Reconstruction,” vii.

⁴ Ibid., 40.

⁵ Richter, “It is Best to Go in Strong-Handed: Army Occupation of Texas, 1865-1866,” *Arizona and the West* 27 (Summer, 1985): 142.

his dissertation, “Soldiering in the South During the Reconstruction Period, 1865-1877,” but relies more on official documents and papers rather than soldiers’ diaries, memoirs, and letters.⁶

As military history looks increasingly at the soldiers’ perspective, so this thesis investigates the experiences of Western citizen soldiers in postwar Texas, varied as it could be from region to region within the state. Going beyond published memoirs confirms a strong desire to go home and reveals differences in what the Westerners thought about Texas. Richter and Shook’s broad depiction of the soldier’s lot in Texas have missed subtler shades that soldiers used to portray their own experience. One important point of departure is where the soldiers were located. For instance, a lieutenant in an Illinois regiment stationed in Green Lake, Texas, asked himself in his diary on September 6, 1865, “Won’t we never get out of this state?” However, after a reluctant march from San Antonio to New Braunfels, this junior officer met Miss A. Rennert with whom he recorded a number of visits and his tone improved. When his regiment left Texas, he wrote on December 9: “Bade farewell to the Demeritt and Rennert families. Some of them shed tears almost. I never felt so bad as leaving any place as that except home in 1861.”⁷ The volunteers’ irritation at remaining in the army after the war was widespread throughout the occupying units, but because of where they

⁶ Harry Wilcox Pfanz, “Soldiering in the South During the Reconstruction Period, 1865-1877,” (Ph.D. Diss., Ohio State University, 1958), 160-214.

⁷ Chesley Mosman, *The Rough Side of War: The Civil War Journal of Chesley Mosman 1st Lieutenant, Company D 51st Illinois Volunteer Infantry Regiment*, ed. Arnold Gates (Golden City, N.Y.: Basin Publishing, Co., 1987), 383-4, 400.

were stationed and the conditions endured, what the men experienced during their postwar service differed from place to place.

Looking broadly at postwar attitudes and relations, two different theories are prominent. Michael Perman asserts in *Reunion Without Compromise* that southern leaders were never pliant after the war, and were enabled by President Andrew Johnson's policies, which "embodied conciliation and provided for the cooperation and consent of Confederate leadership," thus allowing resistance to social change.⁸ Dan Carter contends in *When the War Was Over* that the South was much more flexible, welcomed economic aid from the Federal government, and attempted to reconstruct itself. These attempts ultimately failed because these states failed to accommodate adequately the newly freed slaves within southern society.⁹ In regards to Texas, Richter and Shook both side with Perman's argument in pointing out the violence in Texas and increased resistance to Reconstruction. However, much of this violence largely occurred after the volunteers went home and the Regular Army took over occupation duties.¹⁰

Violence notwithstanding, Reconstruction in Texas followed more the pattern that Randolph Campbell describes in *Grass-Roots Reconstruction in Texas, 1865-1880*. Campbell examines six different Texas counties and argues that the state was too large and socially varied a place to make sweeping generalizations about political

⁸ Michael Perman *Reunion Without Compromise: The South and Reconstruction, 1865-1868* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1973), 5.

⁹ Dan T. Carter, *When the War Was Over: The Failure of Self-Reconstruction in the South, 1865-1867* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1985), 4, 231-2.

¹⁰ "Report of Special Committee on Lawlessness and Violence in Texas," Sen. Misc. Doc. 109, 40th Cong., 2nd Sess., 1868 (Serial 1319).

Reconstruction, although certain factors affected how Reconstruction proceeded in these counties, such as the influence of the army and Freedmen's Bureau; the number of southern Republicans; the pace of economic growth; and the influence of non-Anglo residents, such as Germans, Mexicans and freedmen.¹¹ This is no less true in regards to the volunteers' and Texans experiences and relations in postwar Texas. For instance, soldiers along the Rio Grande experienced few problems, there being fewer civilians than in East Texas. In another case, the lieutenant colonel of the 30th Indiana Volunteer Infantry reported that the people of Goliad did not cause any problems, and that the citizens had a barbecue with the Hoosiers.¹² Nevertheless, many soldiers stationed in Gonzales recalled that it was very resistant toward its occupiers.

Texan-soldier relations and the volunteers' experiences varied across the state, not because the soldiers were different, but because their posts' location were different. Similarly, the army's role as an occupier was not the same throughout the state. Some soldiers along the Rio Grande had to deal with the complexities of maintaining a modicum of neutrality, while further north, men remained static around San Antonio or Port Lavaca but had more diversions than those on the border. Logistical and supply issues were also an important determinant. Like in Campbell's *Grass-Roots*

¹¹ Randolph B. Campbell, *Grass-Roots Reconstruction in Texas, 1865-1880* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1997), 220-229. These counties were Colorado, Dallas, Harrison, Jefferson, McLennan, and Nueces Counties. Western volunteers occupied Colorado, Harrison, and Jefferson Counties, but Campbell does not dwell on the volunteers' influence, actions, or Texan-soldier relations.

¹² Lt. Col. H.W. Lawton to Colonel, August 25, 1865; Journal Entry September 27, 1865, "30th Indiana Infantry: Regimental Letter, Order, and Journal Book," Record Group 94, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

Reconstruction, the broad factors of location and conditions influenced the volunteers' occupation of the state.

The approach taken in this thesis encompasses two basic perspectives. The first is through the eyes of the occupiers, or the Union volunteer soldiers. The procedure for determining the volunteers' attitudes is similar to James McPherson's methodology in his book, *For Cause and Comrades*: a dependence upon soldiers' letters, diaries, journals, and memoirs. Most of these have come from the states' respective historical agencies or archives. Official documentation from the National Archives from Record Groups 94 and 393 also provide information such as unit orders and official correspondence.

This analysis revolves around the citizen soldiers from Indiana, Illinois, Ohio, Wisconsin, and Michigan—the Old Northwest—because of these states' shared histories as well as common political and social philosophies. Regiments from these states contributed significantly to the Federal occupation from Brownsville to San Antonio to Marshall. Documents and primary sources from these soldiers provide representative views of men from these Western states.

Most of these men came from the Fourth or Thirteenth Army Corps. The Fourth Corps was created in 1863 and served in the Army of the Cumberland in the Western Theatre. Its regiments fought at Shiloh, Corinth, Perryville, Stones River, Chickamauga, Chattanooga, the Atlanta Campaign, and fought Confederate General John Bell Hood at Franklin and Nashville in late 1864. Regiments in the Fourth Corps amassed a fine record as combat veterans. Men in the Thirteenth Corps engaged Confederates in

Missouri, Louisiana, Mississippi, and Alabama. Various regiments participated in General Ulysses S. Grant's Vicksburg Campaign, an 1864 campaign into Texas, and the Red River Campaign in Louisiana. The Thirteenth Corps, as a unit, participated in the 1865 Mobile Campaign and in various assaults on outlying forts defending the city. Much of the cavalry likewise saw service in the Trans-Mississippi area of Louisiana, Arkansas, and Mississippi. Only the 12th Illinois Cavalry saw action in the Eastern Theater from 1862 to 1863. These veterans knew the business of war and excelled at it. As the Texans would discover, however, the soldiers were not familiar with the business of peacetime occupation.

The second perspective is that of Texas civilians and what Texans thought of these soldiers from the North. This perspective comes through examining personal papers, located at the Texas State Library and Center for American History at the University of Texas, and looking through newspapers for editorials, articles, and general opinions to help reveal what Texans thought of the soldiers. It should be noted that quotations have only been edited where it made reading smoother, leaving most spelling in the original.

News of Texas

Understanding the volunteers' anger at going to Texas after the war requires some cultural context. Having its roots in seventeenth century English military policy and continuing through the nineteenth century was the sacrosanct American idea of the citizen soldier. This doctrine held that American citizens, not a large standing army, defended the nation when there was a threat to national security, but these soldiers

returned to their civil pursuits when the threat was gone.¹³ This concept helps explain the longevity of the militia as an institution and an antipathy toward a large standing army. In American thought, the paragon of citizen soldiery was a fifth century B.C. Roman farmer, named Cincinnatus, called to become dictator of Rome and defeated its enemies, but willingly put aside his power afterwards.¹⁴ The parallel in nineteenth century American thought was George Washington.¹⁵ From this intellectual and cultural perspective, it can be seen why the citizen soldiers of the Fourth and Thirteenth Army Corps and two cavalry divisions were upset when ordered to Texas and not allowed to return to their homes or their civil pursuits. Grudgingly, these men had no choice but to obey orders to patrol the Mexican border and reinstate law and order in Texas. The soldiers, however, did not take kindly to these orders.

In the meantime, General Robert E. Lee surrendered his Army of Northern Virginia on April 9, 1865 and General Joseph Johnston and his army surrendered in North Carolina nine days later. However, the Confederate Trans-Mississippi Department did not surrender until May 26. In early May, General Grant, as

¹³ Charles Royster gives a similar definition in his *A Revolutionary People at War: The Continental Army and American Character, 1775-1783* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1979), 38-39. James McPherson in *For Cause and Comrades: Why Men Fought in the Civil War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 104-106 argues that Union and Confederate soldiers thought they embodied the notion of the citizen soldier as well as other attitudes from the Revolutionary generation. Contemporary social views of the militia, the formal manifestation of citizen soldiery, are noted in Marcus Cunliffe, *Soldiers and Civilians: The Martial Spirit in America, 1775-1865* (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1968), 179-180.

¹⁴ H. H. Scullard, *A History of the Roman World, 753 to 146 BC* (5th ed.; London: Routledge, 2003), 96.

¹⁵ This parallel is more closely examined in Carl J. Richard, *The Founders and the Classics: Greece, Rome, and the American Enlightenment* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1994), 70-72, 109. This impression of Washington is also developed in Garry Wills, *Cincinnatus: George Washington and the Enlightenment* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1984), 36-37.

commanding general, ordered General Philip Sheridan to plan an invasion of Texas. After May 26, the invasion became an occupation force. In the meantime, the army tried to discharge as many volunteer units as it reasonably could, but the Fourth Corps and Thirteenth Corps discovered that the government still required their services. To be fair, the government had the authority to keep the men in uniform after the war because many veterans' terms of enlistment in 1863 and 1864 were for three years, which gave the U.S. Army the legal right to keep them in service until 1866 or 1867.¹⁶ Thus, despite the war's end and the soldiers' argument that the government had a moral obligation to discharge them, the government could still keep them in the service. To the volunteers, this was of little comfort.

Before Kirby Smith's surrender or any official orders, rumors spread of a movement toward Texas. For instance, William Harper, from the 7th Indiana Cavalry, wrote in mid-May that "we have fears of going to Texas if old Kirby don't serender soon. I do hope we wont have to go."¹⁷ Gustavus Field, in the 13th Wisconsin doubted the rumors but was frustrated that units with less time in service were discharged before veteran regiments.¹⁸ George Parsons of the 57th Indiana correctly estimated, with some resentment, that non-veteran soldiers would be mustered out before the veterans were allowed to go home. However, Parsons did not speculate why the veterans were to be

¹⁶ Samuel M. Blackwell, Jr, *In the First Line of Battle: The 12th Illinois Cavalry in the Civil War* (Dekalb, Ill.: Northern Illinois University Press, 2002), 159.

¹⁷ William Harper to Lydia C. Harper, May 14, 1865, William Harper Collection (Indiana Historical Society, Indianapolis, Indiana). Unless otherwise specified, all units are infantry regiments.

¹⁸ Gustavus Field to Annie, May 25 and 26, 1865, Gustavus Adolphus Field Papers, 1863-1865 (Wisconsin Historical Society, Madison, Wisconsin).

kept in service or where they would go. By mid-July, the rumor mill in the regiment suggested Texas.¹⁹

Kirby Smith's surrender was a sign of hope for some soldiers, who fully expected to return home soon, but the rumors never stopped. William Harper expected to "be ordered to Indianapolis before long."²⁰ When Gustavus Field learned about Kirby Smith's capitulation, he was confident that "we will have no work in that Tropical clime. I was gratified to hear that news."²¹ Others heard more ominous rumors, despite the surrender. By June 14, Alonzo Payne of the 5th Illinois began to hear rumors of Texas. By the twenty-second, he wrote in his diary: "Think of Texas and weep where the Sun has no mercy on a poor fellow at all[.] I suppose we will have the privileges of trying it in a few weeks."²²

When the news became official that they were going to the Lone Star State, the volunteers were not pleased, and some units protested the perceived unfairness. In two regiments from the Thirteenth Corps, these orders were especially aggravating. Benjamin Sanborn of the 20th Wisconsin and Albert Wright of the 94th Illinois both wrote that their regiments had finished their muster-out rolls and were waiting to go

¹⁹ George Parsons to Amos, May 27 and July 13, George W. Parsons Collection (Indiana Historical Society, Indianapolis, Indiana).

²⁰ William Harper to Lydia C. Harper, May 28, 1865, William Harper Collection.

²¹ Gustavus Field to Annie, May 30, 1865, Gustavus Adolphus Field Papers.

²² Diary entry June 14 and 22, 1865, Alonzo G. Payne Papers (Illinois State Historical Library, Springfield, Illinois).

home in early June when they received orders to go to Texas.²³ The 2nd Wisconsin Cavalry wrote to a colonel who decided which regiments to discharge. The regiment requested that they be “among the first mustered out of the service . . . to become good and loyal citizens once more.” The request continued that if the Badgers could not go home, “we are and always shall hold ourselves in readiness to help maintain our free government.”²⁴ The regiment was sent to Texas.

One brigade in the Fourth Corps went far to prevent a move to Texas. A staff officer, Captain Alexis Cope, of Brigadier General August Willich’s First Brigade, Third Division, reported that men “were secretly signing papers pledging themselves to disobey the orders to move to Texas.”²⁵ The regimental historian of the 59th Illinois, George Herr, wrote that the “injustice wrought such a revulsion of feeling that the men gathered together in squads, here and there, discussing the situation in more or less excited tones.”²⁶

²³ Benjamin Brown Sanborn, *As Ever Your Own: The Civil War Letters of B. B. Sanborn*, ed. Laurie Fry (Arlington, Virg.: Naptime Publishing, 1997), 200; Albert Wright to Folks At Home, June 19, 1865, Wright Family Papers, 1860-1890 (Auburn University Libraries, Ralph Brown Draughon Library, Department of Special Collections & University Archives, Auburn, Alabama).

²⁴ Emmet C. West, *History and Reminiscences of the Second Wisconsin Cavalry Regiment* (Portage, Wis.: State Register Print, 1904; Reprint, Rochester: Grand Army Press, 1982), 26-27.

²⁵ Alexis Cope, *The Fifteenth Ohio Volunteers and Its Campaigns, War of 1861-1865* (Columbus, Ohio: Edward T. Miller, Co., 1916), 730.

²⁶ George Washington Herr, *Episodes of the Civil War, Nine Campaigns in Nine States: Fremont in Missouri—Curtis in Missouri and Arkansas—Halleck’s Siege of Corinth—Buell in Kentucky—Rosecrans in Kentucky and Tennessee—Grant at the Battle of Chattanooga—Sherman from Chattanooga to Atlanta—Thomas in Tennessee and North Carolina—Stanley in Texas. In Which is Comprised the History of the Fifty-ninth Regiment of Illinois Veteran Volunteer Infantry—Together with Special Mention of the Various Regiments with which it was Brigaded from 1861 to 1865* (San Francisco: The Bancroft Company, 1890), 346.

Both writers recorded a meeting in June where Willich answered questions from the brigade. Cope spoke glowingly of Willich, writing that “[i]f there had been a mutinous spirit among the veterans of our brigade it was dispelled by his eloquent appeal.”²⁷ Herr, on the other hand, remembered more restlessness among the volunteers. One soldier interrupted Willich and ardently proclaimed that “We did not enlist to light Louis Napoleon out of Mexico.” When the 59th finally left for Texas, morale was low: when the bugle sounded “Assembly,” “never did [59th] proceed to obey its command with such seeming indifference.”²⁸ The selected cavalymen and infantrymen were indeed moving to Texas, despite a strong desire to return home. The ideal of Cincinnatus, the citizen soldier, had been rejected.

²⁷ Alexis Cope, *Fifteenth Ohio Volunteers*, 731.

²⁸ Herr, *Episodes of the Civil War*, 348. Cope records that this meeting took place on June 12, but Herr wrote June 2.

CHAPTER II

WESTWARD, HO: MOVING TO TEXAS

Despite the widespread desire to go home, the Fourth and Thirteenth Army Corps and General Wesley Merritt's cavalry divisions were going to Texas. The last battle in the Civil War was fought in southern Texas at Palmetto Ranch on May 12, 1865.

Although the Union soldiers were soundly routed in this small clash of arms, they were the only Federals in the state when General Edmund Kirby Smith surrendered the Trans-Mississippi Department on May 26. General Egbert Brown marched into Brownsville on May 29 with 1,425 soldiers. Of the force that fought at Palmetto Ranch and was under Brown's command was the 34th Indiana. These troops began the military occupation of Texas, which would ultimately include the Fourth, Thirteenth, and the all-black Twenty-fifth Army Corps as well as two divisions of cavalry.

As the Westerners arrived in the Lone Star State from Alabama and Tennessee, they struggled to understand their new situation. The soldiers' movement from their wartime posts to Texas, and the manner in which those movements occurred, help to illustrate location as an important variable in explaining why experiences differed in occupation Texas. The infantry's and cavalry's different destinations, and how they arrived there, created divergence in unit mentalities. That the Thirteenth Corps only shipped from Mobile to Galveston, Houston, or places along the lower Rio Grande and stayed there created different mindsets than their comrades in the Fourth Corps and the cavalry who made arduous overland marches to San Antonio or Austin. While their positions along the lower Rio Grande were far from paradise, the men of the Thirteenth

Corps displayed more patience than those in the Fourth Corps or cavalry. In addition, the establishing of an army occupation force in Texas revealed some of the concerns that would prevail throughout its stay, namely the struggle to maintain good relations with civilians and the challenge of maintaining discipline and order within the ranks. Figure 2.1 shows the major cities of occupation during this preliminary phase and as the various units stationed themselves.¹

Thirteenth Army Corps

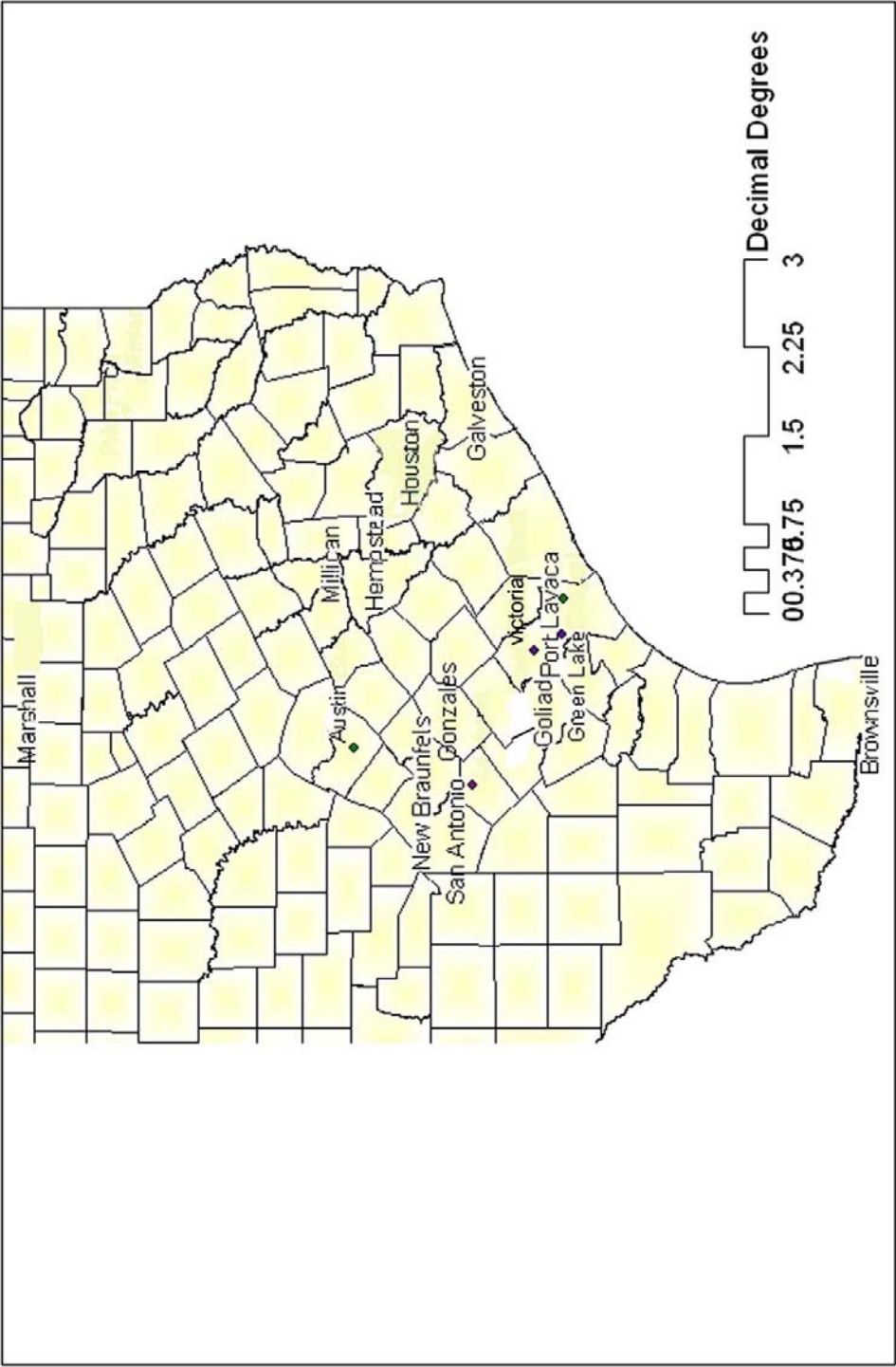
General Brown marched into Brownsville on May 29 and instituted order where it was sorely needed. The 2,000-man Confederate post had mutinied on May 25 because their commander could not pay them.² By June 10, Major General Frederick Steele's division of six thousand men landed at Brazos Santiago.³ Most Western soldiers of the Thirteenth Corps arrived in Texas by mid-June, at either Brazos Santiago, north of the mouth of the Rio Grande, or Galveston. The Thirteenth Corps dealt with crowded steamships, seasickness, and stormy seas, but the troops could be thankful that their steamships did not explode or sink on the way from Mobile to Texas.

A member of General Steele's staff, Colonel John C. Black wrote on June 7 that "the trip across the gulf was made without the least bad weather or rough sea."

¹ Figure 2.1 shows Texas counties, but does not adequately depict the state's gulf coastline because counties' borders extend past their coastline. Therefore, cities like Port Lavaca appear inland when in reality it is on Matagorda Bay. It is intended merely to give the reader points of reference for chapters two and three.

² Jonathan A. Beall, "The Military Occupation of the Lower Rio Grande Valley, 1865-1866," *The Journal of South Texas* 16 (Fall 2003), 204.

³ Genl. Frederick Steele to Genl. Philip Sheridan, June 10, 1865, *The Civil War CD-ROM: The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Carmel, Ind.: Guild Press of Indiana, Inc., 1996), series 1, vol. 48, pt. 2, p. 841. Hereinafter cited as *Official Records*.



Produced by Maps/GIS Unit
Texas A&M University Libraries

Figure 2.1 - Cities of Occupation

Furthermore, the men on the ship enjoyed the entertainment of porpoises “tumbl[ing] around us in a clumsy style.” In a July 10 letter, enlisted man John Pearson, of the 28th Illinois, also wrote that “we did have a pleasant trip across the Gulf, lasting four days.”⁴

For the 114th Ohio, 24th Indiana, 83rd Ohio, and 94th Illinois, however, the sea was not as gracious. The 114th Ohio, 83rd Ohio, and 94th Illinois regiments left Mobile on June 13 and arrived in Galveston on the eighteenth. The 24th Indiana set sail from Mobile on June 25 to arrive in Galveston on the twenty-ninth. George Jackson of the 114th Ohio wrote that there were several squalls for three days and many of the men were sick.⁵ Likewise, the 24th Indiana went through some rough seas on June 27. Regimental historian Richard Fulfer recorded that “several of us were thinking about Jonah and the whale.”⁶

The 83rd Ohio embarked on June 14 and by the next day, the sea was worse and was more than many of the Ohioans could handle. On the sixteenth, Thomas Marshall recorded that “[s]ome were so sick they did not care whether the ship sank or not.” When morning approached, the waters remained rough. Marshall, too, succumbed to the urges of many of his landlubber comrades and “sent my breakfast to the mermaids.” A pilot was unable to guide the boats past the sandbar until June 18. In the meantime, “[e]very body was cursing the ship, the captain, Genl. [Gordon] Granger, . . . the army,

⁴ John Charles Black to Mary, June 7, 1865, John Charles Black Papers (Illinois State Historic Library, Springfield, Illinois). Hereinafter cited as Black Papers. John Blunston Pearson to Brother, July 10, 1865, John Blunston Pearson Papers (Western Illinois University, Macomb, Illinois). Hereinafter cited as Pearson Papers.

⁵ Diary entry June 14-16, George Jackson Diary (Ohio Historical Society, Columbus, Ohio). Hereinafter cited as Jackson Diary.

⁶ Richard Fulfer, *A History of the Trials and Hardships of the Twenty-Fourth Indiana Volunteer Infantry* (Indianapolis: Indianapolis Printing, Co., 1913), 130.

the navy, the sea and so night closed in.” Marshall “staggered out” of the boat and laid down on solid ground on the morning of the eighteenth exhausted and hungry after three days without being able to eat.⁷

The 94th Illinois experienced the same rough waters as the 83rd Ohio. On June 19, Jabe Wright observed that “a good many of the boys were pretty sick by the way but are all right now any more than we cant walk very strate.” Wright himself was not sick, “but I am so weary as any of them since we landed. I find myself trying to hold the house steady occasionally.”⁸ Seasickness was common, and this should be expected given these units hailed from landlocked states. Because of the Vicksburg, Red River, and Mobile Campaigns, many veterans of the Thirteenth Corps were accustomed to river steamboats for transportation. Crossing the Gulf of Mexico on ocean-going steamships, as Marshall and Wright illustrated, was a different proposition altogether for the Westerners.

By late June, most of the Thirteenth Army Corps had arrived in Texas, whether at Galveston or the lower Rio Grande. Because of the French Intervention in Mexico, the corps wasted no time moving westward. On June 1, Steele received orders from General Edward Canby, commander of the Department of the Gulf, to “proceed with as little delay as practicable with the force under your command to the Rio Grande, for the purpose of occupying such points on that frontier as may be found expedient and proper.

⁷ Diary entries June 13-18, Thomas B. Marshall Diaries, 1862 September 4 to 1865 December 4 (Miami University, Miami, Ohio). Hereinafter cited as Marshall Diary.

⁸ Jabe Wright to Friend, June 19, 1865, Wright Family Papers, 1860-1890 (Auburn University Libraries, Ralph Brown Draughon Library, Department of Special Collections & University Archives, Auburn, Alabama). Hereinafter cited as Wright Family Papers.

Brownsville, Ringgold Barracks, and Roma will probably be the points that should first be occupied.”⁹ Significantly, General Gordon Granger, Thirteenth Corps commander and commander of the District of Texas, landed in Galveston on June 19 where he issued General Orders no. 3 stating that, “in accordance with a proclamation from the Executive of the United States, all slaves are free. This involves all absolute equality of personal rights and rights of property between former masters and slaves.” Granger wrote further that “the freedmen are advised to remain quietly at their present homes and work for wages.”¹⁰

The Army in Texas would have plenty of time to deal with the numerous issues involving freedmen, but arranging for immediate necessities took priority. The conditions of the landings were problematic and the French presence was not the only reason for moving the Federal soldiers up the Rio Grande so quickly. Upon landing nine miles from Clarksville at Brazos Santiago, Steele reported to General Philip Sheridan, the overall commander of military forces in Texas and Louisiana, that “there is no water on the island except what is condensed by machinery. The condensers produce only 6,000 gallons per diem, so that it will be necessary to move the troops destined for the Rio Grande and the ‘movable’ column to the river at once.”¹¹ Colonel Black referred to Brazos Santiago as a “barren island.”¹² Captain Thomas Stevens of the 28th Wisconsin

⁹ Maj. Genl. E. R. S. Canby to Steele, June 1, 1865, *Official Records*, series 1, vol. 48, pt. 2, p. 716.

¹⁰ General Orders, No. 3, Headquarters District of Texas, June 19, 1865, *Official Records*, series 1, vol. 48, pt. 2, p. 929.

¹¹ Steele to Sheridan, June 10, 1865, *Official Records*, series 1, vol. 48, pt. 2, p. 842.

¹² John Charles Black to Mary, June 7, 1865, Black Papers.

wrote that the place would have been unendurable were it not for the sea breeze.¹³ There was a shortage of water in Galveston as well for the 29th Illinois. When that unit landed, the citizens offered them water for as high as \$1.00 per canteen. The 29th refused to pay such a price and so confiscated the wells at bayonet point.¹⁴ This was clearly a reflection of their habits as combat veterans used to taking from Southern civilians at will. Soon thereafter, such actions would be punished.

On June 9, the 35th Wisconsin landed at Brazos Santiago where they were short of food as well as water. The distillery that purified the saltwater allowed each man a “bottle full of water” a day, which was not enough given the heat. Eleven days later, the 35th marched to Clarksville, finding enough water but no wood. Pearson, of the 28th Illinois, wrote that it was a five-mile hike to obtain wood for his camp, and that the Rio Grande was “the muddiest kind of water—the abominable stuff we have to drink.” The men of the 35th Wisconsin took advantage of being posted near a river and went swimming, despite the dangerous currents and whirlpools that drowned two men. Unpredictable river aside, Pearson described the camp as unhealthy and he expected to move before the yellow fever season arrived. Bivouacking next to a river during a storm became a problem for the 35th Wisconsin when, on June 30, it rained so much that the regiment’s “camp was entirely flooded so that we were knee deep in water and mud.”¹⁵

¹³ Thomas N. Stevens, “*Dear Carrie*,” . . . *The Civil War Letters of Thomas N. Stevens*, ed. George M. Blackburn (Mount Pleasant, Mich.: Central Michigan University, 1984), 326.

¹⁴ William Richter, “The Army in Texas During Reconstruction, 1865-1870,” (Ph.D. Diss., Louisiana State University, 1970), 36.

¹⁵ Ferdinand Kurz, “Ferdinand Kurz Reminiscences” (copy at Wisconsin Historical Society, Madison Wisconsin), 30-31; John Blunston Pearson to Brother, July 10, 1865, Pearson Papers.

One benefit that officers and men enjoyed alike on the Rio Grande was the opportunity to go across the border to Matamoros, opposite Brownsville, to shop or visit. Purchases were subject to inspection and the men were not permitted to buy arms, ammunition, or alcohol. This was an experience that few Western soldiers would have had were it not for their occupation duty. Under other circumstances, they might have been in better moods to take advantage of the opportunity.¹⁶ The trade between Brownsville and Matamoros was heavy during the Civil War and Bagdad, on the Mexican side of the Rio Grande, had flourished as a result. However, because of the precipitous downfall of the South, goods began to pile up at Bagdad and Matamoros. Captain Thomas Stevens visited Bagdad and commented on the cheap prices everywhere.¹⁷

Those who landed at Galveston did not land a moment too soon, in General Sheridan's opinion. On June 10, he ordered Granger to rush men to Galveston. Sheridan wrote that "[t]here is a not a very wholesome state of affairs in Texas. The Governor, all the soldiers, and the people generally are disposed to be ugly, and the sooner Galveston can be occupied the better."¹⁸ About the time Steele's division arrived at the Rio Grande, another division of the Thirteenth Corps reached Galveston. One Ohio soldier commented that he "liked the appearance of the town very well, and every

¹⁶ Special Field Order, no. 1, Brig. Genl. E. B. Brown, June 3, 1865; Special Orders, no. 6, Major Nimrod Headington, June 30, 1865, "34th Indiana Infantry Regimental Order Book," vol. 4, Adjutant General's Office, Record Group 94 (National Archives).

¹⁷ Stevens, "*Dear Carrie*," 327-328.

¹⁸ Sheridan to Maj. Genl. Gordon Granger, June 10, 1865, *Official Records*, series 1, vol. 48, pt. 2, p. 841.

thing is lovely.”¹⁹ The 83rd Ohio arrived at Galveston no worse for the wear, and, on June 19, Thomas Marshall described the city as having “a great many shade trees and the streets are almost lined with red oleanders.”²⁰ An Illinois soldier acknowledged his desire to go home in a June 19 letter, but realized that a move inland would be worse than staying in Galveston. As Captain Stevens observed in Brazos Santiago, the sea breeze made the stifling heat more bearable in Galveston. Mosquitoes, however, ruled the evenings.²¹

On June 13, the 48th Ohio reached Galveston and billeted in different parts of the city.²² Marshall wrote on June 24 that he was quartered on the second-story of a comfortable hotel.²³ Sergeant Henry Ketzle wrote that the 37th Illinois reached Galveston on July 1 and tried in vain to find a suitable campsite, but eventually moved into the Fremont Hotel. Ketzle recalled that Company A had one room to itself and shared the hotel with the 48th and 83rd Ohio regiments. Those stationed along the Rio Grande or marching overland to San Antonio or Austin would have been jealous to know that some soldiers were staying in hotel rooms and not in crude shelter tents.

¹⁹ Diary entry June 17, 1865, Jackson Diary.

²⁰ Diary entry June 19, 1865, Marshall Diary.

²¹ Jabe Wright to Friend, June 19, 1865 and June 27, 1865, Wright Family Papers.

²² John A. Bering and Thomas Montgomery, *History of the Forty-Eighth Ohio Veteran Volunteer Infantry Giving a Complete Account of the Regiment From Its Organization at Camp Denison, O., In October 1861, to Its Final Muster-Out, May 10, 1866. Including All Its Marches, Camps, Battles, Battle-Scenes, Skirmishes, Sieges, Bivouacs, Picketing, Foraging and Scouting; With Its Capture, Prison Life and Exchange. Embracing, Also, An Account of the Escape and Re-Capture of Major J.A. Bering and Lieut. W.J. Srofe, and the Closing Events of the War in the Trans-Mississippi Dep't* (Hillsboro, Ohio: Highland News Office, 1880), 186.

²³ Diary entry June 24, 1865, Marshall Diary.

Unfortunately, the Ohioans allowed rivalry to get the better of them. Ketzle wrote that in mid-July, the two Ohio regiments “had a little family quarrel” resulting in the Fremont Hotel “going up in smoke and flame.” On July 19, a fire started in one of the men’s quarters and “consumed a large hotel” despite the efforts of two fire engines to douse the flames.²⁴ The burning of the Fremont Hotel reflected a transition that the men would have to make during their time in Texas—respecting Southerners’ private property. As this incident shows, it was not always easy for the men to make that transition.

Fourth Army Corps

As the Thirteenth Army Corps began to arrive in Texas in June, the Fourth Army Corps was still encamped in Tennessee, preparing for its trip to New Orleans. The Westerners were not excited with the orders to go to Texas, although some did not know about it until they reached the Crescent City. The passage of the Fourth Corps was the longest of the occupying forces, as the men moved down the Mississippi River to Louisiana then shipped to Indianola, Texas, marched thirty miles march to Green Lake, and thence to San Antonio.

The regimental historian of the 15th Ohio wrote that, on June 5, General George Thomas, commander of the Army of the Cumberland, ordered the discharge of all men whose terms of service expired before October 1. Oddly, most of the discharged were recent draftees or men who had served less time than those preparing for Texas.

Understandably, for the many combat veterans going to Texas, this was a point of

²⁴ Henry Ketzle, *History of Co. A, 37th Illinois Volunteer Infantry*, ed. Eleanor Ketzle Grimm, Marguerite Ketzle Neemans (Santa Rosa, CA: H.B. Ketzle, 1992), 24-25; Diary entry July 19, 1865, Marshall Diary.

contention. Discharging took time but most of the corps marched out by mid-June. The corps moved by rail from Nashville to Johnsonville, Tennessee, reaching there as early as June 16.²⁵ The corps then steamed to Paducah, Kentucky, and thence to Cairo, Illinois, on the Ohio River. From there, the corps went down the Mississippi to New Orleans. Not everything worked out as planned.

On June 19, Colonel Ephraim Holloway of the 41st Ohio wrote a hurried letter to his wife to tell her “that I am in great need of many things having lost everything I possess last night on board the Steamer Echo No 2 which sunk off Cairo. Send me without fail . . . such articles of clothing as you may think I need, and one hundred dollars of money.”²⁶ Three days later, near Vicksburg, Holloway wrote to his wife that the pilot of the *Echo* “ran on to a sharp prow of the Monitor Oneida which was anchored in the river, crushing in the bow of the Echo, causing her to fill with water in less than five minutes.” Almost everyone was asleep and the boat sank in less than ten minutes so most everyone escaped with only the clothes on their backs. Holloway was asleep and did not feel the boat hit the monitor. Holloway abandoned ship with only his haversack, sword, and field glasses after he was awakened by two junior officers. He lost his two horses and all his property, altogether worth \$900. Holloway reported that his regiment lost only two dead and two missing from the accident.²⁷

²⁵ Alexis Cope, *The Fifteenth Ohio Volunteers and Its Campaigns, War of 1861-1865* (Columbus, Ohio: Edward T. Miller, Co., 1916), 732.

²⁶ Ephraim Holloway to Wife, June 19, 1865, Ephraim S. Holloway Papers (Ohio Historical Society, Columbus, Ohio). Hereinafter cited as Holloway Papers.

²⁷ Ephraim Holloway to Wife, June 22, 1865, *ibid*.

On June 20, David Hulburt, of the 13th Wisconsin, saw a commotion toward the landing as his steamboat re-coaled at Cairo. As the crowd approached, he “heard Shoot him, Hang him, Drown him, then I saw a Guerrilla looking, Hatless man with very long hair, and a Soldier on each side with one hand hold of his coat . . . running for the boats as fast as they conveniently could, they came to ours and as soon as he was on board the Order was Let no one on the boat.” When the prisoner was brought on board, “he was immediately taken into the Cabin[.] Who is he, was the first question[.] It’s that Pilot[.] it was sometime before he could say anything but kept looking wildly around toward the door as if he expected the Soldiers would break through the guards, take him by force and kill him.” He was taken to Hulburt’s brigade commander, Brigadier General August Willich, “and that is the last I have heard of him.”²⁸

Aside from the incident on the *Echo*, the trip to New Orleans was uneventful, but did not always go as smoothly as the officers would have liked. The regimental historian for the 125th Ohio wrote that, on June 18, “the boat anchored on account of fog. A number of men are missing . . . If [Colonel Emerson] Opdycke and his staff were on this boat things would be different.”²⁹ Opdycke later became a popular brigade commander and this comment signifies an element of attachment to good officers and their leadership. It might have been true that Opdycke’s persona and leadership would have been enough to ensure good behavior on the 125th’s boat on June 18, 1865, but this

²⁸ David Hulburt to Mary, June 22, 1865, David S. Hulburt Civil War Letters, 1862-1865 (Wisconsin Historical Society, Madison, Wisconsin). Hereinafter cited as Hulburt Letters.

²⁹ Charles T. Clark, *Opdycke Tigers 125 O.V.I.: A History of the Regiment and of the Campaigns and Battles of the Army of the Cumberland* (Columbus, Ohio: Spahr & Glenn, 1895), 393.

had a limit and officers, even popular ones, found it increasingly difficult to maintain discipline and order as the men's postwar service lengthened.

Captain Alexis Cope wrote that two steamers used guards to keep troops aboard to prevent desertion when making routine stops. However, on June 19, some men rushed the guards to disembark anyhow.³⁰ The 15th Ohio was already in an "ugly temper" and resented the enforcement of rules on board that made their confinement all the worse, such as no smoking in order to prevent fire. The men were at least allowed to get off the boat in Kentucky to cook rations.³¹

By late June, most of the Fourth Army Corps began to arrive in New Orleans as ordered by Sheridan. The corps did not stay long and began to depart after July 4. Many writings mention that the campsite on the New Orleans battlefield from the War of 1812, but little else that was positive about the site. One Illini wrote that some soldiers were afraid they would catch some disease while in midsummer New Orleans. No one wanted to die an ignominious death to disease after the war was won.³² Alexis Cope described the camp near New Orleans as an open field with no shade. These conditions did not help the men's attitudes who had spent a week cooped up in a steamboat.³³ A Wisconsin man complained to his wife that in conjunction with the lack of shade, the heat that "is hot enough to roast any body," and the poor water, the men were starting to

³⁰ Silas S. Mallory, "Not in a Useless Cause." *The Journal of Events During My Career as a Soldier in the Union Army. Including a Short Synopsis of My Early Life*, ed. William F. Mallory, Jr. (n.p., 1969. Copy at Ohio Historical Society, Columbus, Ohio), 117.

³¹ Cope, *Fifteenth Ohio Volunteers*, 746, 747.

³² Lewis Cass Dougherty, "Recollections of L. C. Dougherty," L. C. Dougherty Papers (Illinois State Historical Society, Springfield, Illinois), 175.

³³ Cope, *Fifteenth Ohio Volunteers*, 750.

get sick.³⁴ A Buckeye in the 49th Ohio complained to his parents that the “river water is all that we have to use and that is very warm and muddy also very filthy as all of the sewerage of the city passes in the river.”³⁵

The proximity of a cosmopolitan city and the men’s dismal camp made maintaining discipline a struggle. Desertion was a concern and officers kept passes to the city at a minimum. The lieutenant colonel of the 9th Indiana twice ordered noncommissioned officers to dress in civilian clothing, go into the city, and arrest men on unauthorized absences.³⁶ Those caught in the city without written permission were arrested and given extra duty. The 15th Ohio had strong guards placed around its camp to prevent men from going into the city without passes. The practice of breaking guard was so common, apparently, that Major General David Stanley, commander of the Fourth Army Corps, issued an order prohibiting any enlisted man from going into the city.³⁷

Although the camp was not an ideal place, it was one reason why so many tried to escape into the city. Temptation was compounded because the Fourth Corps was paid before leaving Nashville. One Badger thought that “New Orleans is a much better looking City than I expected to see, and very clean, the water all runs off above ground,

³⁴ Gustavus to Wife, June 28, 1865, Gustavus Adolphus Field Papers, 1863-1865 (Wisconsin State Historical Society, Madison, Wisconsin). Hereinafter cited as Field Papers.

³⁵ Samuel Oscar Chamberlain, *Civil War Letters of an Ohio Soldier: S.O. Chamberlain and the 49th Ohio Volunteer Infantry*, ed. Dick and Judy Chamberlain (Flourney, Calif.: Walker Lithograph, 1990), 46-47.

³⁶ Special Orders 44 and 45, Lieutenant Colonel William P. Lasselle, July 8 and 9, 1865, “9th Indiana Infantry Consolidated Morning Reports and Order Book,” vol. 5, Adjutant General’s Office, Record Group 94 (National Archives).

³⁷ Cope, *Fifteenth Ohio Volunteers*, 750.

and the streets paved a little extra.”³⁸ Captain John McGraw of the 57th Indiana also liked the areas outside the city when he wrote that “vegetables of all kinds tomatoes cabbage potatoes and sutch like and then there is plenty of figs we pick them and peal them and stew them.”³⁹ During a five- or six-day hiatus from camp, Alvareze Coggeshall took his meals “at the French market where I got good milk to drink good eggs and the best fish I ever ate[.] ever thing to eat was cheap[.] I could git all I could eat for 25 [cents. I] had to pay one dollar a night for a good bed with mosquito bar over it.”⁴⁰ A Wisconsin man wrote to his wife that “our boys are having great spreeds in the City and some of them have found the pleasure rather expensive for their own good.” He must have had in mind a comrade in his regiment who sought temporary comfort in the arms of a prostitute and discovered to his chagrin that she also had sticky fingers after she stole his watch and two hundred dollars.⁴¹

While the Thirteenth Army Corps was settling in its position by late June, the Fourth Corps prepared to take its part in the military occupation of Texas after July 4. On the Fourth of July, General Thomas Wood, commander of the Third Division, issued orders to his brigade commanders to prepare a move to Texas on the fifth. The men were to prepare three days’ cooked rations for there would be no cooking aboard the steamships because of the danger of fire. To help the men show a new respect of

³⁸ David Hulburt to Sister Kate, July 2, 1865, Hulburt Letters.

³⁹ John McGraw to Wife, July 10, 1865, John S. McGraw Collection (Indiana Historical Society, Indianapolis, Indiana). Hereinafter cited as McGraw Collection.

⁴⁰ Alvareze B. Coggeshall, *Civil War Memoirs of Alvareze B. Coggeshall*, ed. Norman D. Coggeshall and Alice Coggeshall Houser (United States: A. B. Coggeshall, Sr., 1980), 57.

⁴¹ Gustavus Field to Wife, June 28, 1865, Field Letters.

southern property, Wood declared that “on arriving in Texas, commanding officers of every grade will be held strictly responsible that there are no depredations committed on the citizens by troops of this command.”⁴² All supplies were now to be bought from Texans and not just taken from local residents. Although the troops were implicitly expected to refrain from stealing and plundering while steaming down the Mississippi River, the men of the Fourth Corps were now being *ordered* to respect all private property. Like their comrades in the Thirteenth Corps, the officers would find that this could be challenging to enforce when citizen soldiers chose not to obey.

Unlike the men of the Thirteenth Corps, the soldiers of the Fourth Army Corps generally had smoother trips over the gulf from New Orleans to Matagorda Bay. The 51st Indiana left Louisiana on July 5 with the rest of the Third Division. William Hartpence wrote that it was a rough trip on account of the lukewarm water, bad coffee, and the storm the division encountered off Galveston.⁴³ Some enjoyed the trip over the Gulf of Mexico. Captain Cope, of the 15th Ohio, wrote that the men took pleasure in the porpoises that swam alongside the boats, and they used their plentiful free time to play cards or read.⁴⁴ The regimental chaplain recorded that his experience was “pleasant compared with that *internal* commotion that a person experiences when affected with what is called ‘sea-sickness’ . . . Either the earth or my head seemed still for days to roll

⁴² Orders from Headquarters, 3rd Division, 4th Army Corps, Maj. Genl. Thomas J. Wood, July 4, 1865, *Official Records*, series 1, vol. 48, pt. 2, p. 1048.

⁴³ William R. Hartpence, *History of the Fifty-First Indiana Veteran Volunteer Infantry: A Narrative of Its Organization, Marches, Battles, and Other Experiences in Camp and Prison, From 1861-1866* (Cincinnati: Robert Clarke Co., 1894), 326-7.

⁴⁴ Cope, *Fifteenth Ohio Volunteers*, 754-755.

and rock.”⁴⁵ A Buckeye in the 19th Ohio commented that he had “a very pleasant time on the Gulf. [T]here was no storm while we was coming across the Gulf and we got along very well.”⁴⁶ When they reached Matagorda Bay, the men of the 15th Ohio and 59th Illinois both used the time and location to go swimming, despite the danger of sharks in the area. Although one Ohioan almost drowned, there were no casualties.⁴⁷

Not everyone had such pleasant trips. The men of the First Brigade, Second Division experienced rougher seas when they came across on July 16. The historian for the 57th Indiana wrote that “everything went gay until the vessel entered the rough waters of the Gulf. Here the scene changed, and, to use the expression, the ‘boys, every one, commenced heaving up Jonah.’ The first night out the vessel encountered a pretty severe gale, but weathered it through.” One Buckeye remarked that when the storm arrived on July 17, “very few were able to sleep. The ship tossed about, and a majority were sea sick. The thunder seemed louder and the rain fall more copious than on land. This morning the waves were high, but the storm has passed.” The boys of the 57th debarked from the boat onto lighters to take them over the bar on July 21 but the 125th Ohio, which also weathered the storms, had to wait until the twenty-third.⁴⁸

⁴⁵ Randal Ross, “A Letter from San Antonio de Bexar, October 10, 1865,” *United States Service Magazine* 5 (February 1866), 173.

⁴⁶ William Helsley to Wife, July 17, 1865, William J. and Mary Helsley Papers (Rare Book, Manuscript, and Special Collections Library, Duke University, Durham, North Carolina). Hereinafter cited as Helsley Papers.

⁴⁷ Cope, *Fifteenth Ohio Volunteers*, 756; Dougherty, “Recollections of L. C. Dougherty,” 176.

⁴⁸ Asbury L. Kerwood, *Annals of the Fifty-Seventh Regiment Indiana Volunteers: Marches, Battles, and Incidents of Army Life, by a Member of the Regiment* (Dayton, Ohio: W. J. Shuey, 1868), 316-317; Clark, *Opdycke Tigers*, 397-398.

Indianola was a thriving port city with potential for more growth and had already experienced Union occupation in 1864. The area's civilian Unionists had fled years prior and the secessionists left the city before this second Federal occupation. Regardless of it being nearly deserted, Randal Ross described Indianola as "a place of considerable business [before the war]. . . It contained several hotels, a number of large storerooms, a small church, a city hospital, a court-house, and jail."⁴⁹ Colonel Holloway, too, observed that the city was abandoned. All the same, it was "a verry pretty town of about 2500 individuals."⁵⁰ One of the greatest complaints was the lack of good water. Even the corps commander, General Stanley, acknowledged that the water was poor.⁵¹ As a result, the Fourth Corps made almost immediate preparations for a move nearly thirty miles inland to Green Lake.

The Fourth Corps' march to Green Lake was an indication of things to come. For most regiments, this march was made at night but tested the endurance of these veterans. For all the forced marches and campaigns that these soldiers made through Kentucky, Tennessee, and Georgia, their descriptions reveal that this march to Green Lake was one of the hardest. The climate and geography in the mid-South did not compare with that of Texas in July. While most of the Thirteenth Corps had settled down for an occupation of indefinite duration by late July, the Fourth Corps was still moving into its position.

⁴⁹ Randal Ross, "A Letter from San Antonio de Bexar," *United States Service Magazine*, 173.

⁵⁰ Letter from Ephraim Holloway to Wife, July 15, 1865, Holloway Papers.

⁵¹ David Sloan Stanley, *Personal Memoirs of Major General D.S. Stanley, U.S.A.* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1917), 229.

The most common description of the geography between Green Lake and Indianola was that of a dry, open prairie with no cover, no shade, no trees, no bushes, no houses, and no water, but absolutely infested with mosquitoes.⁵² The goal was the fresh water provided by Green Lake. David Hulburt wrote that the 13th Wisconsin was unlucky enough to have to carry its knapsacks. After a short rest, Hulburt's company fell out again "at 15 minutes past 2 o'clock . . . to sleep." His company then intelligently started moving again at 4:00 a.m. to reach Green Lake before sunrise. As the men marched, they noticed, all along the roadside, "here was one man, there 2, on the other side 5, there 10, there 12, next 15, and so on all resting, most of them sleeping." Hulburt fell out of his company again, but made it to Green Lake at around 10:00 a.m.⁵³

Walking itself became difficult as many of the men still had their sea legs. Cope wrote that with the "innumerable gopher hills" the prairie began to look "like the sea and seemed to roll like it, and added to the toilsomeness of the march."⁵⁴ Coggeshall, whose 51st Indiana marched to Port Lavaca instead of Green Lake, wrote that it "felt just like the ground was rolling in waves just like the gulf waters did when I was on ship[.] it made me step high and walk like a blind horse."⁵⁵ A continual annoyance on this march

⁵² The following collections or publications all have very similar descriptions of the geography of the land between Indianola and Green Lake: Ephraim Holloway to Wife, July 15, 1865, Holloway Papers; Ross, "A Letter from San Antonio de Bexar," *United States Service Magazine*, 175; William Helsley to Wife, July 17, 1865, Helsley Papers; Cope, *Fifteenth Ohio Volunteers*, 757; Gustavus Field to Wife, July 15, 1865, Field Papers; Chesley Mosman, *The Rough Side of War: The Civil War Journal of Chesley Mosman, 1st Lieutenant, Company D, 59th Illinois Volunteer Infantry Regiment*, ed. Arnold Gates (Garden City, N.Y.: Basin Publishing, Co., 1987), 369-70.

⁵³ David Hulburt to Brother Chauncey, July 18, 1865, Hulburt Letters.

⁵⁴ Cope, *Fifteenth Ohio Volunteers*, 757-758.

⁵⁵ Coggeshall, *Civil War Memoirs*, 58.

were the clouds of mosquitoes. Lewis Cass Dougherty and another soldier in the 59th Illinois fell out to sleep. When the mosquitoes bit through the blankets and clothing, they “added two tent pieces—duck cloth—and were stung as before. We broke camp.” Cope recalled that once the 15th Ohio entered the prairie, “myriads of mosquitoes rose up out of the ground and viciously attacked both men and horses.”

Upon finally reaching Green Lake, Lieutenant Chesley Mosman wrote that he was “[a]wful tired, but it must be because I am nearly dead with thirst. Go ten miles without water . . . lay down nearer dead than alive. Warm. Nearly sunstruck . . . We were on ten hours and forty minutes on the road and covered a distance of twenty-five miles . . . Mosquitoes eat me up.” Men in the 15th Ohio immediately took advantage of their new camp’s location and “waded into [the lake] up to their waists and drank the water like thirsty cattle.”⁵⁶ The conditions were so bad and so many men had fallen out that Brigadier General August Willich ordered wagons with barrels of water to go back towards Indianola to help those that needed it.⁵⁷ The 64th Ohio marched to a camp near Port Lavaca and arrived there “disheartened, discouraged, and ready to take the severest kind of measures with everybody and everything, especially with those who were instrumental in bringing the corps into this place.” There was not enough wood to set up their shelter tents and it stormed that night. It surely did not dampen their frustration.⁵⁸ For approximately the next month, these Westerners accommodated themselves around Green Lake.

⁵⁶ Cope, *Fifteenth Ohio Volunteers*, 758.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

⁵⁸ Mallory, “*Not in a Useless Cause*,” 124.

Like the soldiers in the Thirteenth Army Corps, the Fourth Corps was ordered to respect Southerners' private property. This is best seen in a July 28 order from the 31st Indiana. In a regimental order, Lieutenant Colonel James Hallowell reminded his regiment that the *Articles of War* applied in peacetime and that "as our mission here is one of peace and reconciliation, we as Citizen soldiers of the United States must so conduct ourselves as to command the respect of all who have been arrayed against us and thereby complete our mission the sooner." Therefore, he ordered that no one was permitted to forage and anyone caught doing so would be charged with grand larceny. Aside from attempting to foster positive relations with the Texans, this was also to help preserve discipline in the ranks.⁵⁹

For all the desolate land around Green Lake, the lake itself had plenty of wildlife. Dougherty wrote that there were "[w]ading birds, flying birds, swimming birds, perching birds; birds of all sizes and colors . . . I saw also alligators, turtles, snakes, frogs, lizards, butterflies, and etc. The trees were covered with vines bearing large, purple, Muscadine grapes." He enjoyed his time because he had the chance to roam and fish, two activities he did often.⁶⁰ The chaplain of the 15th Ohio described the lake as four miles in diameter, but only three to six feet deep. It was a habitat for alligators and "such was the war of extermination that these Yankee soldiers waged upon them, that the General in command had to issue an order forbidding the soldiers killing them" because the rotting

⁵⁹ Regimental Order, no. 4, Lt. Col. James R. Hallowell, July 28, 1865, "31st Indiana Infantry Regimental Order and Courts-Martial Book," vol. 4, Adjutant General's Office, Record Group 94 (National Archives).

⁶⁰ Dougherty, "Recollections of L. C. Dougherty," 179.

bodies were unhealthy.⁶¹ Many of the Westerners mentioned the undeclared war on alligators around Green Lake. The chaplain added that the soil was rich in producing corn, melons, and sweet potatoes.⁶²

Despite the wildlife in the area, there was little to do, which, in some instances, had an adverse affect on the men. Colonel Holloway told his wife that “here our whole aim is to kill [time] as fast as possible. This we do by sleeping in the morning till 7 or 8 o'clock, then sleeping as much through the day as possible.” He warned his wife that she would have “to be a little indulgent with me when I return first as I shall probably want to sleep about half of my time.”⁶³ The occasional drill, dress parade, and guard duty was all that filled the Fourth Corps’ schedule. Despite the lackadaisical existence, a Wisconsin soldier gave a far more morbid description of life at Green Lake when he said that “men are dying daily at this place and there is no help for it.”⁶⁴ Another Badger complained about the lack of medicine and that ninety-one men reported as sick in Victoria from the 13th while another eighty-four remained sick in camp.⁶⁵ The 13th pooled its money for officers to purchase quinine in Indianola, to help end the shortage.⁶⁶

⁶¹ Ross, “A Letter from San Antonio de Bexar,” *United States Service Magazine*, 176.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 176-177.

⁶³ Ephraim Holloway to Wife, August 20, 1865, Holloway Papers.

⁶⁴ Gustavus Field to Wife, August 1, 1865, Field Letters.

⁶⁵ Anonymous letter to unknown newspaper dated September 11, 1865, clipping placed after the September 8, 1865 letter in the Hulburt Letters.

⁶⁶ David Hulburt to Brother Bradford, September 3, 1865, Hulburt Letters.

Like the many alligators in the lake, the soldiers often commented on the abundance of cattle. Several said that thousands of head of beeves roamed the prairie around Green Lake—providing for easy access to beef. The soldiers did their fair share of shooting alligators and “slow deer,” that is, the cattle that could not keep up with the herd.⁶⁷ It is safe to assume that the colonel of the 31st Indiana was not the only commanding officer to issue orders prohibiting foraging, although such orders were not always followed closely. In his memoirs, General Stanley claimed that there was so much unauthorized killing of cattle that it was stopped only with several court martials “and the men severely punished.”⁶⁸

Like the march to Green Lake, another irritation was the ubiquitous mosquito. Unfortunately, not everyone had an effective means to keep from being bitten. Colonel William Lyon of the 13th Wisconsin wrote to his wife that his regiment did not bother to sleep at night. There was “an old fiddle, and half a dozen fiddlers take turns at the instrument, and a hundred men at a time” danced to keep the mosquitoes off. A member of Lyon’s regiment wrote that the mosquitoes were “quite large and will bite through a Coat. Smoke does very very little, they can bear most as much as we can and as soon as it is gone they are back again.” The men of the 125th Ohio were issued mosquito nets and they gratefully made wise use of them.⁶⁹

⁶⁷ Hartpence, *History of the Fifty-First Indiana Veteran Volunteer Infantry*, 332.

⁶⁸ Stanley, *Memoirs of General Stanley*, 231.

⁶⁹ Colonel William P. Lyon, *Reminiscences of the Civil War*, ed. William P. Lyon, Jr. (San Jose, Calif.: William P. Lyon, Jr., 1907), 226-227; David Hulburt to Sister Mary, August 6, 1865, Hulburt Letters; Clark, *Opdycke Tigers 125 O.V.I.*, 400.

These soldiers who had so eagerly anticipated returning home after the war were sent to a place considered to be the middle of nowhere and subsist on stringy beef, moldy hardtack, and warm water while fighting off hordes of bloodthirsty mosquitoes and having little to occupy their time and no perceived reason for being there. It is easy to see why discipline became hard to maintain and morale fell so low. After a while, most of the Westerners looked forward to leaving, but to go where? Private Gustavus Field recorded rumors that the Fourth Corps was to march further west in late July, but he could not determine why or how they would attempt to “march one hundred fifty miles in this dreadful climate, [when they were so] weak and [worn] out by hard usage and starvation.”⁷⁰ For once the rumor mill proved true because in early August orders began to circulate among the division commanders to begin marching toward San Antonio.⁷¹ That initiated a march that dwarfed the one to Green Lake in terms of length and difficulty.

When the 15th Ohio received orders to proceed to San Antonio, they took direct action by flatly refusing to march. In a brief diary entry, William Stahl wrote that the men of the 15th Ohio protested until Brigadier General August Willich convinced them to go.⁷² Captain Alexis Cope, working on the brigade staff, remembered that on August 8 after receiving marching orders, the men sent petitions to protest the march. On

⁷⁰ Gustavus Field to Wife, July 25, 1865, Field Papers.

⁷¹ Andrew Stewart, Ass't. Adj. Genl. to Bvt. Maj. Genl. Nathan Kimball, August 6, 1865, *Official Records*, vol. 48, pt. 2, p. 1167; Maj. Genl. David S. Stanley to Maj. Genl. Wesley Merritt, *ibid.*, vol. 48, pt. 2, p. 1168.

⁷² Diary entry August 10, 1865, *Civil War Diary of William Stahl: Company E 49th Ohio Volunteer Infantry and Related Papers* (n. p.: n. d. Copy located at Ohio Historical Society, Columbus, Ohio). Hereinafter cited as *Stahl Diary*.

August 10, Colonel Frank Askew, asked anyone willing to obey the order to step out, but only half the regiment responded affirmatively. General Willich happened by, lectured the men, then dismissed them. When assembly sounded, the entire regiment appeared, but Cope remembered that Willich, Askew, and their respective staffs did not know how the men would respond.⁷³ Although there appeared to be no similar incidents in other regiments, this protest reflects the nature of the citizen soldier. The men naturally debated their purpose to being sent to Texas and marching to San Antonio in the midst of summer. After all, the danger to the nation passed, and they had won the war and reunited the Union. While Regular Army soldiers would have grumbled at a march like this, they would not have balked like the 15th Ohio. One of the problems with using the nineteenth century citizen soldier in a postwar occupation duty was adequately answering the question of why they were there, and that question was rarely answered satisfactorily to the men.

Finishing his August 10 diary entry, Stahl wrote that some of the men threw away their rifles and several men became sunstruck before bivouacking on a creek.⁷⁴ Captain Cope gave more detail. Frustrated, many soldiers fired their rifles, threw them away, or broke them. The next morning revealed that eleven men had deserted and thirty-four had broken their rifles.⁷⁵

Other regiments left in poor shape. Colonel Holloway wrote home that when the 41st Ohio left on September 11, “the command was in a worse condition to start on a

⁷³ Cope, *Fifteenth Ohio Volunteers*, 761-763.

⁷⁴ Diary entry August 10, 1865, *Stahl Diary*.

⁷⁵ Cope, *Fifteenth Ohio Volunteers*, 763-764.

march than I have ever saw it. Large numbers were suffering with chill fever though all were anxious to go, willing to go any where, so as to get away from Green Lake.”⁷⁶ On August 8, Colonel William Lyon of the 13th Wisconsin complained that the men desperately needed new uniforms. The regiment was issued new uniforms on September 5, only a few days before leaving for San Antonio on the eleventh.⁷⁷ George Herr wrote that many in the 59th Illinois had no shoes and wrapped shirts and coats around their feet. They “staggered along, bearing some resemblance to bandage mummies.”⁷⁸

The regiments reached Victoria first from Green Lake. This town became a collecting point for most of the sick who could not march under their own power to San Antonio. Hartpence remarked that “if cleanliness be akin to godliness, [Victoria] would not come in ‘forty-second cousins’ to divinity.”⁷⁹ A Michigan sergeant wrote that Victoria boasted “several fine public buildings, four or five churches” as well as a newspaper and printing office and a Female Academy.⁸⁰ On this first leg of the 4th Michigan’s journey to San Antonio, the men had to wear their knapsacks and soldiers

⁷⁶ Ephraim Holloway to Wife, September 13, 1865, Holloway Papers.

⁷⁷ Lyon, *Reminiscences of the Civil War*, 229-230; David Hulburt to Brother Marvin, September 16, 1865, Hulburt Letters.

⁷⁸ George Washington Herr, *Episodes of the Civil War, Nine Campaigns in Nine States: Fremont in Missouri—Curtis in Missouri and Arkansas—Halleck’s Siege of Corinth—Buell in Kentucky—Rosecrans in Kentucky and Tennessee—Grant at the Battle of Chattanooga—Sherman from Chattanooga to Atlanta—Thomas in Tennessee and North Carolina—Stanley in Texas. In Which is Comprised the History of the Fifty-ninth Regiment of Illinois Veteran Volunteer Infantry—Together with Special Mention of the Various Regiments with which it was Brigaded from 1861 to 1865* (San Francisco: The Bancroft Company, 1890), 349-350. No other source, even from the 59th Illinois, recorded that this happened and it seems unlikely that men would march for two weeks with shirts and coats for shoes.

⁷⁹ Hartpence, *History of the Fifty-First Indiana Veteran Volunteer Infantry*, 336-337.

⁸⁰ N. C. Kendall, *Reminiscences of the Closing Scenes of the Great American Rebellion* (In the field: Sergt. N. C. Kendall, no date [1866?]), 26.

began falling out after one mile of marching. Joseph Griswold, the regimental surgeon, wrote that “the open prairie was dotted every few rods with little tents” of men who had fallen out. No one died, but Griswold stayed at the convalescent camp in Victoria to help those who could not make it on their own.⁸¹ He made his own march to San Antonio in early October. Ultimately, eighty-four Union soldiers would be buried in Victoria or nearby, including men from the 30th and 31st Indiana Regiments, the 38th Illinois, 4th Michigan, 51st Ohio, and 13th Wisconsin.⁸²

The officers were not oblivious to the rigors of this march. General Willich began to send the wagons ahead of the brigade to provide shelter and food for the men when they arrived after their march. Unfortunately, these arrangements did not always work. On the evening of August 17, the brigade took a wrong turn and did not find camp until 11:00 p.m. As might be expected, the men did not take kindly to this inconvenience, although the grapes and large fish there must have been some consolation.⁸³ In addition, these regiments quickly learned that they could not march during the heat of the day. Most units had reveille at approximately 1:00 or 2:00 a.m., marched until 7:00 or 8:00 a.m. and stopped for the day.

This march to San Antonio generally took about two weeks. One young Ohioan wrote that “our Brig[ade] has Proven what has lon[g] bin in doubt that a northern man could not stand the climate here especially in hot weather . . . [but] one that has bin a

⁸¹ Joseph Griswold to Hattie, September 16, 1865, Griswold Family Papers, 1837-1915 (Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan). Hereinafter cited as Griswold Papers.

⁸² Robert W. Shook, “Hard Times in Reconstruction,” in *300 Years in Victoria County*, ed. Roy Grimes (Victoria, Tex.: Victoria Advocate Publishing Co., 1968), 329.

⁸³ Cope, *Fifteenth Ohio Volunteers*, 766-767.

soldier for nearly 5 years can stand any thing.”⁸⁴ On August 21, when Willich’s brigade reached its destination, “the heat was so great that some of the men gave out, but most of them stood it remarkably well.”

San Antonio was a mixed blessing for the men. Sergeant Hartpence described it as “a tough town. The principal part of the male portion were inveterate gamblers.” Part of that gambling was on the weekly Sunday cockfight that took place in the center of the city, which many of the Union soldiers found curiously barbarous.⁸⁵ An Illinois officer denigrated the city’s architecture, observing that “we found it as well built as could be considering that building materials are so scarce.” He also mentioned that there were numerous businesses including saloons, grocers, a gambling house (“where I saw more Mexican dolls than I have ever seen before”), and bakers. He recorded that most items sold very cheaply. Regardless of how these men felt about San Antonio, the Fourth Corps could now settle down as comfortably as their situation allowed, interact with the locals, and reflect on their reason for being sent to Texas.

Cavalry

The overall commander of the cavalry in Texas was General Wesley Merritt and he left with a division from Shreveport, Louisiana, to San Antonio, Texas, in early July. The division experienced numerous problems, some even before it left for Texas. Demonstrating the individualistic and egalitarian nature of the nineteenth century American citizen soldier, Private Samuel Fletcher wrote of a Fourth of July party hosted

⁸⁴ Chamberlain, *Civil War Letters of an Ohio Soldier*, 48; Cope, *Fifteenth Ohio Volunteers*, 768.

⁸⁵ Kendall, *Reminiscences of the Closing Scenes of the Great American Rebellion*, 43.

by his brigade commander Colonel John K. Mizner of the 3rd Michigan Cavalry. Fletcher recorded that the enlisted men ate salt-horse, hard-tack, and drank coffee while Mizner hosted an elegant party for the officers of the brigade. This certainly did not please the brigade's enlisted men who filled hundreds of oyster cans with gunpowder and buried them in the ground. During the officers' first course, enough exploded that "the officers rushed out of the room in the wildest confusion." The officers returned to their meal, and a little later, an even louder barrage sounded. The banquet was cancelled and after that, "[t]here were no more officer's banquets in the presence of the ill-fed and dissatisfied men."⁸⁶

While the division briefly stayed in Shreveport, Private Elihu P. Chadwick, of the 3rd Michigan Cavalry, recorded friendly relations between the soldiers and civilians. In Shreveport, Chadwick made his first "acquaintance with any of our Southern People and I found [a family in Louisiana] to be very hospitable and good company." Two officers of the 2nd Illinois Cavalry occupied the attention of the daughter, so Chadwick conversed with the parents about the future of the South and politics. They were Stephen Douglas Democrats and the father did not understand why the government was sending the Army into Texas, "of which the soldiers were of a similar opinion."⁸⁷

Chadwick wrote that Merritt left on July 7, escorted by the 18th New York Cavalry. The First Brigade, commanded by the 10th Illinois Cavalry's Colonel James Stewart, left on July 8 and was accompanied by the division commander, General West.

⁸⁶ Samuel H. Fletcher, *The History of Company A, Second Illinois Cavalry* (n.p., 1912), 164-165.

⁸⁷ Elihu P. Chadwick Diary, 1864-1866, 26-9 (Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan). Hereinafter referred to Chadwick Diary.

The Second Brigade, led by Colonel Mizner of the 3rd Michigan Cavalry, left on the ninth.⁸⁸

When the Second Brigade moved out of Shreveport, a company of the 3rd Michigan Cavalry was ordered to force two companies of the 2nd Illinois Cavalry “out of camp for their was a great deal of dissitesfaction amongst the troops and they Bolted, but after a While the[y] concluded to proceede and Make the best of it.” On the tenth, when the 3rd Michigan Cavalry left Shreveport, Chadwick “tried to be sick, but could not make it.”⁸⁹

Fletcher and Chadwick had differing views on the move from Shreveport to San Antonio. Fletcher disdained both the march and Texas. As they passed through Louisiana, the regiment experienced few problems, “but when we reached Texas and were obliged to travel over barren wastes, frequently as far as sixty miles without finding a drop of water, it seemed unendurable.” The Texas sun “burned its way through the sky and onto the dusty, treeless plains until the heat-waves quivered upon the horizon like a blast from a furnace. Horses and men suffered intensely.”⁹⁰ On the other hand. Chadwick’s diary reveals a more leisurely march. On July 18, they found good water at Magnolia, Texas, and he even took a bath on the nineteenth. On July 23 and 24, the

⁸⁸ Chadwick Diary, 30.

⁸⁹ Ibid., 31-32.

⁹⁰ Fletcher, *Second Illinois Cavalry*, 165-166.

brigade remained at the Little Brazos River to rest. However, on July 27 and 28, Chadwick noted that water was scarce and the horses did not like the grazing grass.⁹¹

On August 2, the brigade entered San Antonio at 6:00 p.m. As the men “passed through the Principle Part of the city[,] Great crowds assembled to see us as we were the first Yankee troops here they all seemed glad to see us and Flags were flying . . . cheer after cheer filled the air by the [multitudinous] crowd.” By the third, the regiment was situated on “a Beautiful camping Ground about 4 miles from San Antonio.”⁹²

Lieutenant Jeremiah Flint, of the 4th Wisconsin Cavalry, wrote to his mother that “we have the one of the finest camps I ever saw. It is situated in a pleasant grove, with a fine stream of clean, sparkling water running close by.” It was better than drinking from the Mississippi River in Louisiana, but “here there are plenty of fine springs, where the water gushes out from beneath ledges of solid rock.”⁹³ The First Division of Cavalry in the District of Texas had reached its staging point. However, like their infantry comrades in the Fourth Corps, the cavalry would discover that their traveling days were not done.

The Second Division experienced similar problems from its enlisted men, but many of those problems were resistance to the leadership of their division commander, Major General George A. Custer, and the men’s status as citizen soldiers. As the cavalry regiments gathered in Alexandria, Louisiana, after the war, Custer had troubles as he

⁹¹ Chadwick Diary, 34-5.

⁹² Ibid., 40.

⁹³ Jeremiah E. Flint, *The Civil War Letters of Jeremiah F. Flint, 1861/1866: Formerly 1st Lieutenant, Company G, 4th Wisconsin Infantry/Cavalry and the River Falls Rifles and the Hudson City Guards and Former River Falls Postmaster* ed. Richard N. Larsen (Oregon, Wis.: R. N. Larsen, 2002), 90.

attempted to instill a greater degree of discipline in the men. However, the troopers resisted these attempts. Reflecting the anti-military tradition of nineteenth century America, Cogley wrote of Custer upon his reaching Alexandria: “He was a regular army officer, and had bred in him the tyranny of the regular army.”⁹⁴ Writing after their transfer from Custer’s command to Houston, an Illinois soldier remarked that they “were [now] from under the abominable command of Genl. Custer.” Not mincing words, he continued by saying that Custer “was the most despicable man for an officer I ever knew . . . of all the men in history who have an infamous reputation the name of Custer will be the most infamous.”⁹⁵

Aside from problems with Custer, cavalry discipline had started to slip even while in Alexandria. The commanding officer of the 7th Indiana Cavalry issued orders that all men were to be fully uniformed and equipped for morning roll calls.⁹⁶ To the veterans of the 7th, this should have been an unnecessary order but it suggests that too many men and officers were coming to the morning roll calls inadequately dressed. It further suggests that morale and discipline were slipping.

While in Alexandria, many men and officers of the 2nd Wisconsin Cavalry expressed dissatisfaction with their lieutenant colonel by sending a petition to force him to resign. However, a Regular Army officer such as Custer regarded this action as

⁹⁴ Thomas S. Cogley, *History of the Seventh Indiana Cavalry Volunteers* (LaPorte, Ind.: Herald Co., 1876; Reprint Dayton, Ohio: Morningside House, 1991), 172.

⁹⁵ Letter to Sister, September 23, 1865, Wallace-Dickey Family Papers (Illinois State Historical Library, Springfield, Illinois).

⁹⁶ Special Orders, no. 30, Lt. Col. Thomas Browne, July 21, 1865, “7th Indiana Cavalry Regimental Order and Guard Report Book,” vol. 4, Adjutant General’s Office, Record Group 94 (National Archives).

mutiny. Regardless of their status as volunteer soldiers, Custer demoted the officers who signed the petition but allowed the participants to recant, which they did, save one lieutenant. Custer had him court martialed for mutiny and sentenced to death, despite many pleas to spare the man. On the appointed day, the lieutenant was to be executed with a convicted deserter. Custer's wife, Libbie, recalled rumors of plots to kill her husband, and that troopers of the 2nd Wisconsin had gone to the execution with loaded carbines, but she admired her husband's strength and resolve in the midst of such anger. Her depiction accurately paints the cavalymen as very resentful at Custer for his decision. When the two men were standing blindfolded before the firing squad the order was given for the executioners to aim and Custer had the "mutinous" lieutenant led away from the firing squad, his life spared. The deserter, on the other hand, was not so lucky.⁹⁷ Emmet West and Thomas Cogley both recorded that the lieutenant received a punishment of three years of hard labor at Dry Tortugas.⁹⁸

By the time that all of the Thirteenth and Fourth Army Corps had arrived in Texas and set up preliminary camps and Merritt had reached San Antonio, Custer's cavalry division was just beginning to move toward Hempstead from Alexandria, Louisiana, in early August. Custer issued orders that no one was to forage from private

⁹⁷ Emmet C. West, *History and Reminiscences of the Second Wisconsin Cavalry Regiment* (Portage, Wis.: State Register Print, 1904; Reprint Rochester: Grand Army Press, 1982), 27-28. West recorded that this man was an officer, Lt. L. L. Lancaster, whereas other sources record that he was a sergeant. Since West was in the 2nd Wisconsin, unlike other sources, it is probable that he is correct; John Carroll, *Custer in Texas: An Interrupted Narrative. Including Narratives of the First Iowa Cavalry, the Seventh Indiana Cavalry, the Fifth Illinois Cavalry, the Second Wisconsin Cavalry and the Military Mutiny of Custer's Command in Louisiana* (New York: Sol Lewis and Liversight, 1975), 48-56; Elizabeth Custer, *Tenting on the Plains: General Custer in Kansas and Texas* (New York: C. L. Webster & Co., 1887; Reprint, 3 vols.; Norman, Okla.: University of Oklahoma Press, 1971), I, 99-106.

⁹⁸ West, *Second Wisconsin Cavalry*, 28; Cogley, *Seventh Indiana Cavalry Volunteers*, 173-174.

property nor were they to make foraging parties.⁹⁹ This again reflects the transition of the men from being allowed to steal at will from the enemy to respecting Southerners' private property. West recorded that the punishment for this crime was a shaved head and 25 lashes. He noted that "I don't think it strange that the men hated Custer and that many from all the regiments deserted that summer."¹⁰⁰

This march was not something the men eagerly looked forward to doing. Lieutenant William Redman, of the 12th Illinois Cavalry, wrote that "[i]t is very warm here [in Louisiana] and I dread to start upon the march on account of the severity of the heat in this climate and the anticipated scarcity of water. I do hope that we shall never be without water, for the men will suffer if so."¹⁰¹ As Redman had anticipated, the march was as hard on the men under Custer's command in August as it was for those under Merritt's command in July. On August 10, the 7th Indiana Cavalry's lieutenant colonel, Thomas Browne wrote in western Louisiana: "Pines before us, pines behind us, pines on each side of us, nothing but pines. Weather very hot, water very scarce and bad. The little water we got was brackish and was unfit for any use, except to be drank by soldiers."¹⁰²

Once in East Texas, Browne found that the mornings could be cold "but, oh, Lord! The noon of day blistered us delightfully." They were discovering, as the Fourth

⁹⁹ Special Orders, no. 2, Major General George A. Custer, June 24, 1865, "7th Indiana Regimental Order and Guard Report Book," vol. 4, Adjutant General's Office, Record Group 94 (National Archives).

¹⁰⁰ West, *Second Wisconsin Cavalry*, 30-31.

¹⁰¹ William Redman to Sister Em, August 1, 1865, Papers of William Henry Redman, 1859-1897 (University of Virginia Library, Charlottesville, Virginia). Hereinafter cited as Redman Papers.

¹⁰² Lt. Col. Thomas Browne, quoted in Cogley, *Seventh Indiana Cavalry*, 175.

Corps did, that the command needed to march in the early morning and stop shortly after dawn. The division crossed Texas on the thirteenth, entered Jasper County on the fifteenth, and on August 17, Browne noted that “this whole face of the country to-day looks as if it was uninhabited by man, and as if even God himself had abandoned it. We camped in the woods . . . and enjoyed the usual luxury of being bitten almost to death by the infernal bugs.” On the nineteenth, Browne continued his diatribe against Texas but by August 21, the division came to better land. The 7th Indiana Cavalry “passed by some fine plantations” and went through Waverly and Cold Springs, “two beautiful villages.” The night’s sleep, though, was ruined “with the bugs and the vermin.” By the time the men reached Hempstead on August 25, Texas, the 7th “was almost destitute of clothing.”¹⁰³

Libbie Custer, whose presence was resented by the men, wrote that the Texans “were amazed at the absence of the lawlessness they had expected from our army, and thankful to find that the Yankee column was neither devastating nor even injuring their hitherto unmolested state.” Libbie recalled that there was only one instance of the men foraging and taking from civilians. However, there were other instances of “depredations.” Lieutenant Cogley wrote that food was scarce when they reached Hempstead and two hungry men of the 7th Indiana Cavalry killed a calf and the owner complained to Custer. The men were discovered, their heads were shaved, and they each received forty lashes, despite their officers’ intercession on their behalf.¹⁰⁴ In the 2nd

¹⁰³ Ibid., 176-182.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., 182 .

Wisconsin Cavalry, one private jumped a fence and stole two watermelons and another stole six peaches. The latter private argued that “what was in the highway might lawfully be taken.” They were made to march on foot. Inasmuch as their commander acknowledged that they were good soldiers, it shows how far the soldiers would go to have a little extra food in the case of the 2nd Wisconsin Cavalry or to supplement half rations in the case of the 7th Indiana Cavalry.¹⁰⁵

By mid-August, the Union Army occupied Texas. There were forces along the Rio Grande, in San Antonio, Houston, Galveston, Beaumont, and units preparing to more fully occupy Austin. As detailed, where different regiments were destined and how they reached those points are important in understanding differences in the outlook of the volunteers in postwar Texas. If the Fourth Army Corps could have been transported by rail to San Antonio from Indianola, there might have been far fewer problems, but those means were unavailable at the time. That they had to march nearly thirty miles to the nearest body of fresh water from Indianola, while fighting off mosquitoes, did not help an already disgruntled body of men. That the cavalry had to put up with the march from Louisiana, hard as it was, did not help their attitudes either. Contrasted with the men of the Thirteenth Corps who moved into position along the coast or the Rio Grande and remained there, the Fourth Corps’ and the cavalry’s manifestations of “mutiny” or ill-discipline become more understandable.

¹⁰⁵ Lt. Col. N. H. Dale to Captain J. S. Greene, August 18, 1865, “2nd Wisconsin Cavalry Regimental Letter, Endorsement, and Memo Book,” vol. 5, Adjutant General’s Office, Record Group 94 (National Archives).

The soldiers' interactions with civilians also became a concern. At this early stage of the occupation, it was reflected in the orders to protect and respect private property. The problem of respecting private property was a sticking point for early historians of Reconstruction such as Charles Ramsdell or George Tyler who used it to indict the U.S. government for its actions in the post-Civil War South.¹⁰⁶ However, it fails to take these "depredations" into context. Although none of these units had participated in Sherman's March to the Sea, few soldiers would have had many misgivings with stealing, confiscating, or otherwise appropriating Southern property by 1865. As historian Mark Grimsley demonstrates, Union policy against Southern citizens and their property became harsher as the war continued.¹⁰⁷ By 1865, soldiers in Alabama or Tennessee would have had few qualms with living off the land and taking supplies from Southerners. In addition, the soldiers were now being ordered to see the "enemy" as their fellow countrymen, which was not necessarily an easy task. In several instances (the burning of the Fremont Hotel, illegally slaughtering cattle, and confiscating water from wells), the volunteers did not always make that transition from freely seizing southern property to respecting it as speedily as their superior officers would like.

The other concern that the Army handled, even this early in its occupation, was the maintenance of discipline. This is closely tied to the different units' destination.

¹⁰⁶ Two such historians are Charles William Ramsdell, *Reconstruction in Texas* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1910; Reprint, Austin: University of Texas Press, 1970) and George Bell Tyler, *The History of Bell County*, ed. by Charles W. Ramsdell (San Antonio: The Naylor Co., 1936).

¹⁰⁷ Mark Grimsley, *The Hard Hand of War: Union Military Policy Toward Southern Civilians, 1861-1865* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

Indeed, if the Fourth Army Corps could have arrived in San Antonio by rail, its mentality could have been better as well as its discipline. Granted, the soldiers were not happy at being in Texas but Colonel Frank Askew of the 15th Ohio likely would not have had a near mutiny on his hands. No matter where a regiment went, many questioned why they were even in Texas. An Illinois soldier wrote later that “such suffering would have been endured in a more graceful mood had there been an enemy up front.”¹⁰⁸ The volunteers’ courage had sustained them through the years of war but now, as the Westerners perceived it, there were few reasons why they should be in Texas since peace had come. This left many to believe that the government they faithfully served had betrayed them, even though the government had valid reasons for keeping them in service. Now that their courage was not enough to sustain remaining in the Army until their discharge, they had to fall back on their sense of duty, amorphous as it was.¹⁰⁹

The tension between the men’s hopes to return to civilian life and their duty as soldiers only increased because there was no threat of war. Episodes such as the petition of the 2nd Wisconsin Cavalry to ask for their commanding officer’s resignation is understandable, given the men’s thinking and circumstances. For some, this sense of duty only went so far, but for most of the Western soldiers in Texas, it sustained them through their time as occupiers. Regardless of they felt, now that they were in Texas, they had a chance to settle in and experience life as they never knew it before—in a peacetime Army in a hostile land.

¹⁰⁸ Herr, *Episodes of the Civil War*, 349.

¹⁰⁹ Gerald F. Linderman, *Embattled Courage: The Experience of Combat in the American Civil War* (New York: The Free Press, 1987), 8, 11.

CHAPTER III

LIVING IN TEXAS: TEXAN-SOLDIER RELATIONS

The issues of Reconstruction, especially the social status of freedmen and the political condition of the South, were complicated enough in the halls of Congress. When these concerns surfaced in a society such as Texas, with the added factors of a military occupation and a white population that did not think it had surrendered to the Union Army, Reconstruction became all the more complex. Indeed, as time wore on, Reconstruction became downright deadly for white Unionists and freedmen. Between 1865 and 1868, a Federal document lists at least 939 murders committed in Texas. In 1865, there were 77, and this nearly doubled to 142 murders in 1866.¹ A judge wrote in 1868 that men who supported the Republican party had to move if they wanted to speak their mind without fear of harm.² General Sheridan wrote in late 1866 that “the trial of a white man for the murder of a freedman in Texas would be a farce” and local authorities were indicting army officers for crimes they would not bring against Texans.³ This violence and threats of violence can be attributed to resistance to Reconstruction, occurring after the Western volunteers had left Texas.

¹ “Report of Special Committee on Lawlessness and Violence in Texas,” S. Misc. Doc. 109, 40th Cong., 2nd Sess., 1868 (Serial 1319), 2-5.

² C. C. Caldwell to Major Longley, “Affairs in Texas,” H. Misc. Doc 57, 40th Cong., 2nd Sess., 1868 (Serial 1349), 3.

³ “Report of Major General Philip H. Sheridan, U.S. Army,” November 14, 1866, *The Civil War CD-ROM: The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Carmel, Ind.: Guild Press of Indiana, Inc., 1996), series 1, vol. 48, pt. 1, 301. Hereinafter cited as *Official Records*.

In mid-1865, as the volunteers settled in their new quarters, Texans were not as violent or resistant as they became in the following years. General George Custer reported that many Texans believed that their lands would be confiscated and those “who had borne a prominent part [in the Confederacy], realized, without being told, that they had forfeited every right, even to that of life.”⁴ Despite the social and political ambiguity, Western soldiers and Texan civilians did interact, whether it was through a formal military medium or casual social contact. Nonetheless, there was a tension that made peaceful, benign interaction challenging: the soldiers desired to go home and white Texans intended to reestablish their state and local governments. In most cases, these opposing mentalities would have been the recipes of poor and tense civil-military relations, which begs the question: what was the nature of the relations between the Texans and volunteers?⁵

Three generals, General Stanley from the Fourth Corps, General Custer from the cavalry, and General Christopher Andrews from the Thirteenth Corps, all made observations on the issues of white Texan attitudes and Texan-soldier relations during this early stage of Reconstruction to a joint congressional committee hearing. Stanley pointed out that relations varied by location and he found that places such as the coast, San Antonio, and Victoria were better than such places as Columbus, Seguin, or

⁴ “Florida, Louisiana, Texas,” *Report of the Joint Committee on Reconstruction* H. Rpts. 30, 39th Cong., 1st Sess., 1866 (Serial 1273), 73.

⁵ It should be noted that discussion here of civil-military relations does not refer to the theory of a military’s place within society but alludes to the relationship between Texans and the Western soldiers who occupied the state.

Gonzales.⁶ Custer commented that Texan-soldier relations were directly proportional to the strength of the military outpost: the stronger the post, the better the relations. He further stated that the Texans were openly bitter and rebellious.⁷ Andrews observed that cities such as New Braunfels, a German settlement north of San Antonio, and Austin were especially pro-Union while most white Texans were still disloyal and hoped to reestablish slavery one day.⁸

From the perspective of the Westerners, these generals' observations are generally accurate. The pervasive attitude of the soldiers gave them little patience for Texans, especially unrepentant ex-Confederates, but civil-military relations were more dynamic than most studies suggest at this point in Reconstruction.⁹ The variability was

⁶ "Florida, Louisiana, Texas," *Report of the Joint Committee on Reconstruction* H. Rpts. 30, 39th Cong., 1st Sess., 39-40.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 72-73.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 124.

⁹ Charles Ramsdell says that the white soldiers robbed the Texans, openly insulted the women, and were a general nuisance. James Sefton says that problems between soldiers and civilians were not rare, but Confederate veterans were generally more respectful towards their occupiers than other Southerners. Harry Pfanz writes that, in Texas, relations could be cordial and locales with Germans, who were Unionists during the war, were better places to remain. Places like Galveston, however, had poor civil-military relations. Charles William Ramsdell, *Reconstruction in Texas* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1910; reprint, Austin: University of Texas Press, 1978), 82-83; James E. Sefton, *The United States Army and Reconstruction, 1865-1877* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1958), 49-51, 54; Harry Pfanz, "Soldiering in the South During Reconstruction, 1865-1877" (Ph.D. diss., The Ohio State University, 1958), 203-205.

William Richter argues that white civilians caused problems for the soldiers and the soldiers, in turn, caused problems for civilians, white and black, as well as for themselves. Overall, he asserts that Texan-soldier relations were good. Robert Shook deals very little on Texan-soldier relations, but does highlight lawlessness and violence against soldiers to show that the Army, indeed, was powerless to effect real social or political change, which is his overall argument. However, Shook is not remiss to discuss where relations were favorable. Neither Richter nor Shook differentiates between the Texans' social contact with volunteers or Regulars. Instead, they categorize relations by the generals who commanded the District of Texas and their political influence. Since there is no separation between the volunteers' and the Regular Army's relations with Texans, it is difficult to judge from these two scholars' works if relations varied as the occupiers changed. William L. Richter, "Spread-Eagle Eccentricities: Military-Civilian Relations in

because of location. There were clearly different relations in different areas of Texas, but it was not because of regional variations, whether North, Central, or South Texas. Stanley's observations that relations were more favorable in urban areas are the most accurate. What became clear was that urban locales generally had better civil-military relations than rural areas. Examining the Texans' perceptions of the soldiers and vice versa as well as rural and urban civil-military relations best shows these differences.

It should be noted here that Texas did not have cities as large as northern cities such as Boston, New York, or Chicago. Urban areas in 1860s Texas generally consisted of the state commercial, political, and demographic centers, such as San Antonio, Austin, Houston, and Galveston, which, in 1860, were located in the most populous counties in the state.¹⁰ City population is difficult to determine exactly, but county growth between the 1860 and 1870 censuses also demonstrates that these cities retained their position as urban centers. Because of location, economic interests, as well as racial and ethnic composition, these urban centers were more receptive of military occupation than rural Texas. Ethnicity is important because of the strong German and Mexican population. Most German Texans were Unionist the war, as historians have pointed out, making make them more favorably disposed toward the volunteers' presence in 1865

Reconstruction Texas," *Texana* 13, 4 (1970), 311; Richter, "It Is Best to Go in Strong-Handed: Army Occupation of Texas, 1865-1866," *Arizona and the West* 27 (Summer 1985), 142; Robert Walter Shook, "Federal Occupation and Administration of Texas, 1865-1870," (Ph.D. diss, North Texas State University, 1970) 429-434, 462.

¹⁰ University of Virginia Geospatial and Statistical Data Center, "United States Historical Census Data Browser," <<http://fisher.lib.virginia.edu/census/>> [Accessed May 24, 2004].

and 1866.¹¹ In addition, the Tejano population, or Texans of Mexican descent, did not usually have the vested interest in slavery or secession that Anglo Texans did.¹²

Across the state, local newspapers dreaded the worst as their editors anticipated the arrival of the Union occupation force. A few weeks after Confederate deserters had plundered Houston on May 23, the *Galveston Daily News* wrote that citizens had “no right left us, but that of petition.” The paper encouraged its readers “to humbly pray for such measure of relief as our rulers may, in their mercy, see proper to accord us.”¹³ San Antonio’s *Tri-Weekly Herald* confessed to feeling quite nervous over the prospect of occupation. It said in September that it was worried about a “systematic persecution by the government of the United States . . . it was feared its soldiers would sweep the land with fire and sword.” The *Herald* was relieved when the Army passed overland and did not ravage the countryside.¹⁴ One Texas citizen remembered that the uncertainty of what the Federal Army might do when it entered Texas “created a feeling of unrest that was positive torture, paralyzing the energies, and casting over the people the shadow of hopeless despair.” This explains, he wrote, why many ex-Confederates fled to Mexico

¹¹ James Marten, *Texas Divided: Loyalty and Dissent in the Lone Star State, 1856-1874* (Lexington, Ken.: The University Press of Kentucky, 1990), 113, 146-148; Walter L. Buenger, *Secession and the Union in Texas* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1984), 98-99.

¹² Marten, *Texas Divided*, 124; Buenger, *Secession and the Union in Texas*, 87.

¹³ *Galveston Daily News*, June 3, 1865.

¹⁴ *The Tri-Weekly Herald* (San Antonio), September 5, 1865.

or South America.¹⁵ After this opening phase of military occupation, many white Texans changed their tune.

In a letter to his wife, a 12th Illinois Cavalry officer made important observations during a circuitous ride into northeast Texas, commenting on Texan-soldier relations, planters, and freedmen in November 1865. Lieutenant Edward Mann received orders to lead fifty men and retrieve the Missouri state archives that Confederates had taken to Waco during the war and study the social conditions of that part of the state. Mann took the opportunity to explain to as many people that he met on his way what was expected of them, black and white, and how to adjust to the free labor system. His letter offers insights about Western volunteers' attitudes toward Texans. Figure 3.1 shows the cities Mann traveled through on his circuitous trip.

Throughout his trip, Mann wrote that he “met with kind and courteous treatment from the inhabitants.” He observed, however, that “[n]o white [in the rural areas] is guilty of work . . . for he will almost starve to death before he will labour for his living,” although he had no problem robbing freedmen. When he reached the Huntsville area of Walker County, Mann began to doubt the many southern whites' new oaths of allegiance to the Union. With some exceptions of planters who seemed to understand that social change was afoot, Mann described white Texans as “lazy and indolent, think they are ruined, [and are] not willing to take hold and help themselves if it requires labour.”¹⁶

¹⁵ W. D. Wood, *Reminiscences of Reconstruction in Texas and Reminiscences of Texas and Texans Fifty Years Ago* (San Marcos, Calif.: no publisher, 1902), 6.

¹⁶ Edward Mann to Wife, December 2, 1865, Adolphus Skinner Hubbard Papers (Chicago Historical Society, Chicago, Ill.). Hereinafter cited as Hubbard Papers.

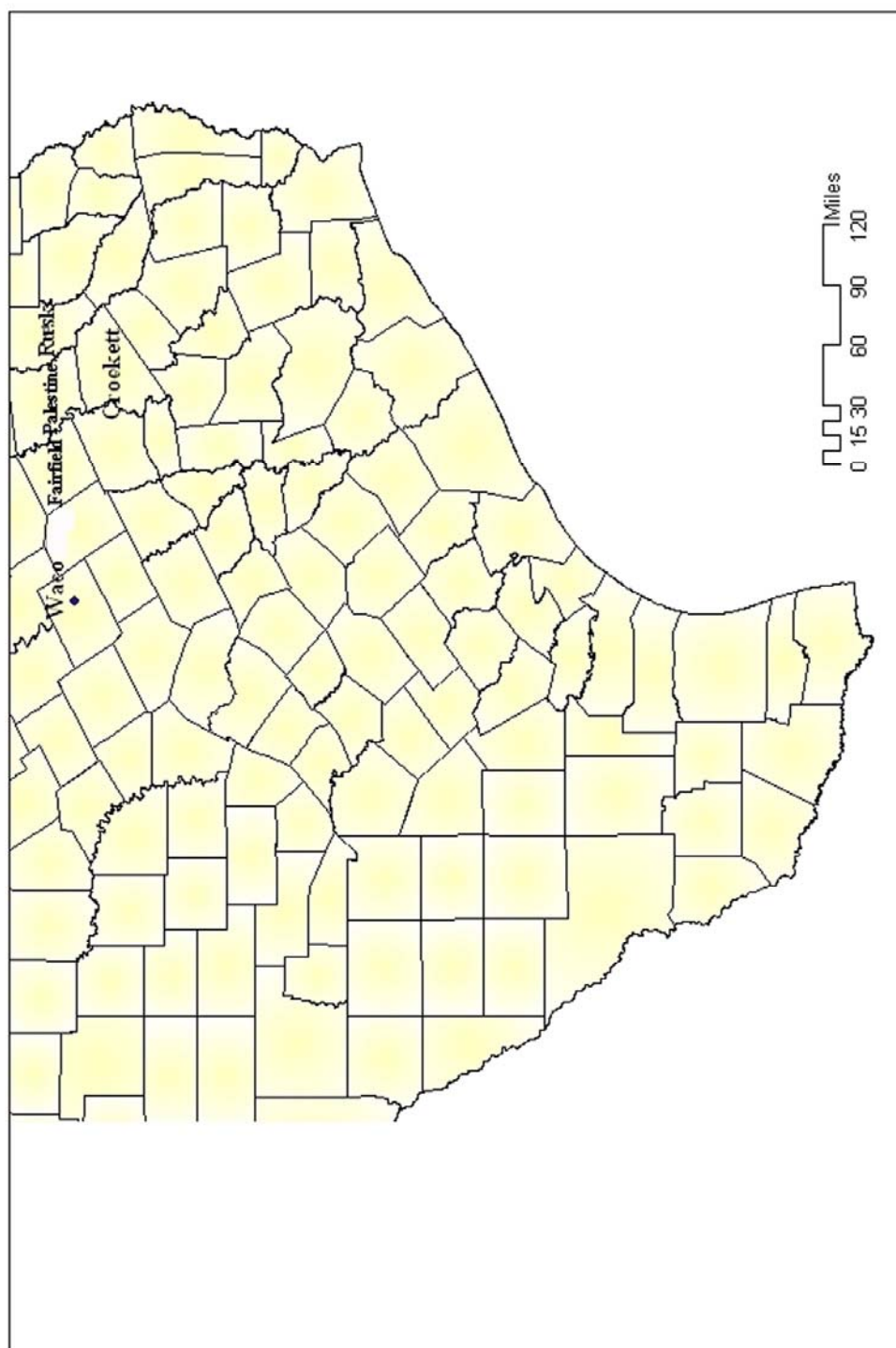


Figure 3.1 - Lieutenant Mann's Ride

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Texas A&M University Libraries

The lieutenant's view of the Anglos notwithstanding, Mann's journey went remarkably well. He visited over thirty towns and four hundred plantations during his forty-day mission. When his troopers entered the town of Crockett, in Houston County, "some of the inhabitants [vied] with each other who should give the most attention." Mann stayed a few days and talked with blacks and whites. At the same time, he effectively acted as provost marshal and Freedmen's Bureau agent by adjudicating many complaints that came his way from freedmen and planters.¹⁷ Mann then marched northwest to Rusk in Cherokee County. Despite the beauty of the town's location, its citizens were "a mean set of inhabitants, [although] there is some very fine men however, but they at present dare not do anything." Mann dined with some of these fine men, who were likely Unionists. From Rusk he moved to Palestine in Anderson County. Similar to Crockett, the troopers' time in Palestine passed in good company, where Mann addressed a crowd of a thousand people upon his arrival. From Palestine, Mann traveled to Fairfield, Springfield, and finally Waco, in McLennan County.¹⁸

Mann's experiences differed significantly from Brigadier General W. E. Strong from the Freedmen's Bureau, who made a similar trip between the Trinity and Neches Rivers, south of where the Illinois lieutenant rode. In his report, Strong stated that his area was supposedly the worst in the state. White Texans living under military rule merely tolerated their subordinated situation, but did not like it. In towns that the military did not occupy, the freedmen lived in slave-like conditions. Even where

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Ibid.

freedmen were protected, they were often unpaid by their white employers. In addition, the white Texans were very hostile toward the Federal government, northerners, and generals representing the Freedmen's Bureau.¹⁹ While the details of their trips unfolded differently, both officers had similar views of rural Texas. These remarks also demonstrate the racist and fiery attitudes of rural white Texans after the war.

The northernmost station of any Western regiment was that of the 8th Illinois in Marshall, in Harrison County. Private William Hinshaw wrote of Marshall in glowing terms. In a letter to his cousin, he reported that the town took care of its occupiers, and "at least there can be seen in the evenings a great many of the soldier boys promenading the town with the fair beauties of the south." There was plenty of fruit to eat and he spent his time in the office legally marrying black couples. He had also received invitations to the homes of wealthy planters, but did not indicate whether he had accepted.²⁰

Other sources indicate that life in Marshall was not quite so pleasant. Just as cities along the Gulf coast were looted when Confederate forces melted away, so Marshall was also plundered and the people probably appreciated the return of law and order when the 8th Illinois appeared in June with some cavalry.²¹ Max Lale, in his study of the 8th Illinois at Marshall, writes that the citizens were resigned to occupation but not

¹⁹ "Florida, Louisiana, Texas," *Report of the Joint Committee on Reconstruction* H. Rpts. 30, 39th Cong., 1st Sess., 36-38.

²⁰ William B. Hinshaw to Benjamin Beeler, July 15, 1865, William B. Hinshaw Papers (Illinois State Historical Library).

²¹ Johnson Roney III, "Marshall, Texas: 1860-1865," (M.A. Thesis, Baylor University, 1967), 165.

angry.²² Disease was a problem and Lale counts nine soldiers dead of disease while at Marshall. Two more died when the city's powder factory exploded on August 28.²³ Relations with white Texans were cool, however. Charges were brought against the 8th Illinois for drunkenness, wild horseback rides through town, as well as unsupported charges of rape and murder. Historian Johnson Roney also asserts that people from Marshall avoided the soldiers, similar to what Lale said. This was most clear on July 4 when the regiment planned a parade through town with music. The regiment encouraged the citizens to attend, but few whites went, although there were hundreds of blacks present. Roney concluded that the 8th Illinois "proved to be gentle overseers" in the end.²⁴

Relations in Marshall were tense, but better than other areas in East Texas. This is likely due to the military presence. An 1865 letter to President Andrew Johnson points to the problem of the region. Mrs. L. E. Potts wrote to the president from Lamar County, requesting that he send a military force to help the oppressed freedmen in the area. She reported that whites were murdering blacks without fear of legal consequences. When Major General Horatio Wright, commander of the District of Texas, received this letter and orders to handle Potts' request in June 1866, he stated that he heard "frequent complaints from the northeastern section of the State regarding the condition of that part of the country, of the barbarities practiced towards refugees and

²² Max Lale, "The Military Occupation of Marshall, Texas by the 8th Illinois Volunteer Infantry, U.S.A." *Military History of Texas and the Southwest* 13, #3 (1976), 41.

²³ Ibid., 45.

²⁴ Roney, "Marshall, Texas," 168, 176.

freedmen.” Although his force was small, Wright sent eight companies of the 4th U.S. Cavalry to Lamar County.²⁵ East Texas, where Mrs. Potts lived and where Mann and Strong made their rides, had a strong cultural connection with the Deep South, the plantation culture, cotton economy, and corresponding political and social beliefs.²⁶ Harrison County, where Marshall is located, serves as an example. In 1860, 58 percent of the fifteen thousand-person county was enslaved, while 3 percent was listed as foreign born. By 1870, more than two-thirds was black and .5 percent were German.²⁷ There is no indication that the army would have been welcomed as liberators. However, Marshall’s size and economic interests may have made it more tolerant than elsewhere in the county.

The Central District, including Houston, Austin, San Antonio, and Indianola, was where the Fourth Corps and elements of the Thirteenth Corps were located and was more diverse than North Texas. There were places where soldiers and citizens could not get along and other cities more receptive of the troops.²⁸

A series of 1866 reports from post commanders to General Wright shows the spectrum in Texan-soldier relations. These reports support Custer’s remark that the tone

²⁵ “Conditions of Affairs in Texas,” H. Exec. Doc 61, 39th Cong., 2nd Sess., 1867 (Serial 1292), 2, 4.

²⁶ Walter L. Buenger, *Secession and the Union in Texas* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1984), 10-12.

²⁷ University of Virginia Geospatial and Statistical Data Center, “United States Historical Census Data Browser,” <<http://fisher.lib.virginia.edu/census/>> [Accessed May 24, 2004]. The 1860 census does not specify where “foreign born” citizens were from, but it does in the 1870 census. Nevertheless, the percentage of foreign born in 1860 is an adequate gauge of the maximum percentage of Germans, with their Unionist beliefs, in each county.

²⁸ The creation of the districts in Texas and Louisiana, both under command of Gen. Philip Sheridan came in General Order, no. 4, Headquarters Department of Texas and Louisiana, *Official Records*, series 1, vol. 48, pt. 1, p. 1094-1095. Marshall, Texas, was part of the Western District of Louisiana.

of civil-military relations was connected with the strength of the army post in each town.²⁹ Officers in some places reported few problems. For instance, an officer in the 37th Illinois reported in April that the citizens of Columbus were “quiet and well disposed both toward the Government and Northern men.” Despite General Stanley’s comment that Columbus was full of hotheads, this change might be due to the military presence. Captain Gallis Fairman, also of the 37th Illinois, wrote that the citizens of Richmond all supported President Johnson’s Reconstruction policies and attitudes toward freedmen were improving “as rapidly as people are learning the position in which they are placed.” The 37th Illinois officer stationed in Brenham stated there were minor problems in March 1866, despite a few bad apples that were not representative of the area’s general public, black and white.³⁰

Not all of these reports recorded favorable relations, regardless of a military presence. Captain William Redman of the 12th Illinois Cavalry reported that the Freedmen’s Bureau agent of Livingston in Polk County, whom the military was to assist when requested, did not do much and the captain heard many complaints of whites abusing freedmen. Politically and socially, Redman stated that he “very much question[ed] the good intentions of the citizens of this county.”³¹ In a personal letter, Redman also documented that Livingston did not welcome his cavalry company,

²⁹ “Florida, Louisiana, Texas,” *Report of the Joint Committee on Reconstruction* H. Rpts. 30, 39th Cong., 1st Sess., 74.

³⁰ George H. Merrill to Captain, April 10, 1866; Capt. Gallis Fairman to Capt. Proudfit, March 26, 1866; Capt. William G. Wilson to Captain, March 29, 1866, “Letters Received, June 1865-August 1866,” Entry No. 4495, Division of the Southwest and Department of the Gulf, 1865-1870, Record Group 393 (National Archives).

³¹ Capt. William Redman to E.H. Powell, April 16, 1866, *ibid.*

indicating that he had a difficult time finding board or someone to sell him feed for his horse. He felt no fear of living in the midst of such hostility and he had “but little mercy for *Rebels* and in the second place [I] will not suffer nor tolerate any of their insults either toward [myself] or [my] men.”³²

Lieutenant Manzen’s statement from Wharton was more descriptive when he said that the citizens held a “deep and lasting hatred, but are anxious to be again admitted into the Union.” Freedmen were abused and insulted and whites opposed education for the freed slaves.³³ Custer’s model only went so far, as there were cities not as welcoming to the Yankees as others. Additionally, the presence of a military force minimized outrages in occupied locations, but not necessarily outlying areas. These reports also show that pro-Confederate attitudes were not silenced, and relations remained tense because of these opposing sentiments.

Located in Brazos County, most white residents of Millican did not embrace the ideals of Reconstruction. George Jackson, a member of the 114th Ohio, wrote that he heard news of a planter who decapitated one of his former slaves.³⁴ When the 114th arrived on June 23, the men noted right away they were not welcome there. Jackson

³² William Redman to Mother, February 13, 1866, Papers of William Henry Redman, 1859-1897 (University of Virginia Library, Charlottesville, Virginia). Hereinafter cited as Redman Papers.

³³ 1st Lt. L. Manzen to Captain, April 10, 1866, *ibid*.

³⁴ Diary entry June 29, George Jackson Diary (Ohio Historical Society, Columbus, Ohio). Hereinafter cited as Jackson Diary.

portrayed the people as “pretty hot-headed” but knew they were whipped. As their relations showed, most Anglos in Millican did not seem to fully realize that yet.³⁵

The regimental surgeon of the 114th, John C. Gill, wrote about the bad relations in Millican. In early July, two whites came to the post headquarters to be paroled. Later, one of these parolees attempted to “pull down the [U.S.] flag in front of Hd. Qrs. He succeeded in getting half of it, and rode off before the sentinel had time to cap his gun. His accomplice was at Hd. Qrs. At the time, he took hold of the sentinel's gun and prevented him from shooting after the man on horseback.” The accomplice was arrested. Gill wrote that one soldier had overheard men plotting to kill the colonel, and stealing the flag as well as some of the officers' horses. This group supposedly planned to raise a force to come into town, break out their jailed member from the flag incident, and threatened to “kill every officer if they have to pick them off one by one.” With this information, officers posted more pickets. From his experiences with the people of Millican, Gill echoed the thoughts of many Texas Unionists and freedmen when he said that “[t]his seems very little like times of peace.” Because of these problems, Gill wished that the Army “had gone through the entire state, and laid it to waste.” He did concede that there were good people in the area, but wished that the regiment would be relieved by another unit.³⁶

Gonzales, in Gonzales County, was another hot spot for Federal infantry. The 49th Ohio occupied the town in late October and recorded tense relations with the

³⁵ Harry F. Lupold, ed. “A Union Medical Officer Views the ‘Texians.’” *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 77 (April 1974): 484-485; Diary entry June 25, 1865, Jackson Diary.

³⁶ Lupold, “A Union Medical Officer Views the ‘Texians,’” 485-486.

citizens, who still held to their old political and racial beliefs. The area's former slaves would have remained in enslavement were it not for the provost marshal who gave the freedmen some justice.³⁷ One soldier referred to the place as "one of the most rebellious holes in all Texas and as our Regt. Is the only one here it creates considerable excitement." When the 49th Ohio arrived at Gonzales, people shook their fists at the Union flag and the women vocalized their displeasure of the Federal presence.³⁸ When the Confederate veterans, however, "saw the names of the principle battles through which we had passed and where they were always defeated [, the former Rebels] were quite crestfallen."³⁹

Violence also occurred between soldiers and civilians in Gonzales. The 32nd Indiana also reported to Gonzales, to strengthen the garrison, and met some Texas Rangers who had fought against the 32nd during the war. Many times, the Confederate veterans were kinder to their former enemies than those who had not gone to war, but Gonzales was different. In one instance, a drunken ex-Ranger tried to pick a fight with men from the 32nd, but the colonel from the 49th Ohio prevented any violence from happening. When the colonel left, a fight began, and the Union soldiers gained the upper hand. They would have beaten the Ranger to death were it not for an old man who stepped in and saved the Texan's life.⁴⁰ Evidently, the 32nd Indiana still had a fighting

³⁷ Samuel Oscar Chamberlain, *Civil War Letters of an Ohio Soldier: S.O. Chamberlain and the 49th Ohio Volunteer Infantry*, ed. Dick and Judy Chamberlain (Flourney, Calif.: Walker Lithograph, 1990), 53.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 52.

³⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

spirit. Likewise, General Stanley told the Joint Committee on Reconstruction that he had “hard work” in keeping one of his staff officers from shooting a Gonzales citizen.⁴¹

Similar to Harrison County, Brazos and Gonzales counties had strong cultural ties to the lower South’s plantation culture and demographic statistics line up accordingly. In 1860, slaves composed over one-third of the population in both counties and, by 1870, blacks were approximately 40 percent of the total population. Foreign born whites were both under 10 percent in 1860, while Germans composed less than 1 percent of the population in 1870 in both counties.⁴² Like much of East Texas, these rural areas showed no social or cultural indication of having to tolerate the army.

Goliad, in Goliad County, may have been an anomaly. In the 1860 and 1870 censuses, slaves and blacks respectively made up one quarter of Goliad County’s total population, but less than 10 percent were foreign-born in both censuses.⁴³ From limited records, it appears there were favorable relations between the town and its military occupants, the 30th Indiana. Orders issued during the regiment’s time in Goliad show that officers genuinely attempted to live peacefully with the Texans, despite the tension that could occur between whites and enlisted men. In August 1865 the 30th Indiana was ordered to march to Goliad. Lieutenant Colonel Henry Lawton was instructed to take supplies from the commissary before leaving, but to purchase everything else from the

⁴¹ “Florida, Louisiana, Texas,” *Report of Joint Committee on Reconstruction* H. Rpts. 30, 39th Cong., 1st Sess., 40.

⁴² University of Virginia Geospatial and Statistical Data Center, “United States Historical Census Data Browser,” <<http://fisher.lib.virginia.edu/census/>> [Accessed May 24, 2004].

⁴³ University of Virginia Geospatial and Statistical Data Center, “United States Historical Census Data Browser,” <<http://fisher.lib.virginia.edu/census/>> [Accessed May 24, 2004 and September 13, 2004]. In 1860, the foreign-born was 8.7 percent of the total population and in 1870, the German-born population was 4 percent.

citizens and to cooperate with the civil authority. The regiment's more tricky task was to confiscate all Confederate property while attempting to foster good relations with both planters and freedmen. When the 30th Indiana reached Goliad, Lawton noted that "the citizens generally express their satisfaction at the arrival of troops and the prospects of a garrison to the place."⁴⁴

Colonel Lawton was also informed that "the importance of strict discipline cannot be too strongly impressed."⁴⁵ Lawton maintained control by allowing soldiers to visit Goliad but not for more than a day and they were ordered to respect citizens and their property.⁴⁶ As might be expected, the men did not always follow these orders. When Lawton heard complaints that trees were being chopped down "for the purpose of getting nuts," he promptly ordered the men to stop.⁴⁷ In another case, Lawton formed a small board to investigate the damages done to a resident's house from a private in Company G. Presumably, this was to fine the private accordingly.⁴⁸ The regiment did not seem to arouse the ire of many citizens because it had a barbecue with the townspeople and the brigade band also attended.⁴⁹ The 30th's experience in Goliad showed that enlisted men still needed restraint, but if the citizens did not overtly react against the soldiers' presence, good relations could be established.

⁴⁴ H. W. Lawton to Colonel, August 25, 1865, "30th Indiana Infantry Regimental Letter, Order, and Journal Book," vol. 3, Adjutant General's Office, Record Group 94 (National Archives).

⁴⁵ Andrew Stewart to Lt. Col. H. W. Lawton, August 22, 1865, *ibid.*

⁴⁶ General Orders, no. 5, Lt. Col. H. W. Lawton, August 25, 1865, *ibid.*

⁴⁷ General Orders, no. 6, Lt. Col. H. W. Lawton, September 25, 1865, *ibid.*

⁴⁸ Special Orders, no. 88, Lt. Col. H. W. Lawton, September 29, 1865, *ibid.*

⁴⁹ Journal entry September 27, 1865, *ibid.*

Galveston, Houston, Austin, and San Antonio were more urban than small, rural town like Gonzales or Millican, and Texan-soldier relations there were better. To suggest, however, that these urban areas treated freedmen as equals or were completely Unionist is inaccurate. These cities were larger and more urbane than the countryside, and displayed more diversity of opinion, including more pro-Union attitudes, which altered civil-military relations.

Galveston, for instance, showed that relations could be smoother in urban areas. Sergeant Henry Ketzle from Illinois had a low view of the city. When his regiment reached Beaumont, he pointed out that they had to work their “old trade learned at Galveston which was a general cleaning up of the leavings of the so proud and chivalrous sons of the South, too lazy and indolent to keep things, as we were in the habit of seeing them.”⁵⁰ In contrast, Thomas Marshall did not record any vocal outbursts of the civilians against the soldiers. The life led by the 83rd Ohio, from Marshall’s diary, was easy: eating melons, paroling ex-Confederates, and hunting for shells, pelicans, and frogs.⁵¹ Marshall recorded that during the Fourth of July festivities someone read the Declaration of Independence. A crowd formed during the national salutes but scattered when the Declaration was read.⁵² Marshall wrote that a woman was jailed for a day when she displayed the Confederate battle flag.⁵³ In his regimental history, Marshall

⁵⁰ Ketzle, 37th *Illinois Volunteer Infantry*, 25.

⁵¹ Diary entries June 21, 30, July 5, 6, Marshall Diary.

⁵² Diary entry July 4, *ibid*.

⁵³ Diary entry July 10, *ibid*.

reported that the sole expression of resentment was a woman who spat on an officer.⁵⁴

That civil-military relations were favorable is attested to by a letter from the provost marshal of Galveston to Governor Andrew Jackson Hamilton in late 1865 indicating that the city government was running efficiently and harmoniously. A few citizens, presumably white, had even told the provost marshal that they never had such a fine city government before.⁵⁵

The Galveston newspapers echoed this harmony. Neither the *Galveston Daily News* nor *Flake's Bulletin* recorded many crimes between the soldiers or civilians. *Flake's*, a Unionist paper, printed information on two trials for murder, one committed by a civilian against a black soldier stationed in the city and another committed by a private in the 77th Ohio. Both culprits were found guilty by a military trial and sentenced to be hanged.⁵⁶ The *News*, a moderately conservative paper, braced for the worst when it cited a June 19 newspaper article from Cairo, Illinois, mentioning the mutinous temper of the soldiers steaming south to Texas.⁵⁷ However, on June 21, the *News* reported that two Union colonels, one from the 114th Ohio, “both called on the Mayor, expressing a desire to act in conjunction with him in sustaining order, should their services be needed, and assuring him that they came as friends and fellow-citizens

⁵⁴ Thomas B. Marshall, *History of the Eighty-Third Ohio Volunteer Infantry, the Greyhound Regiment* (Cincinnati: The Eighty-Third Ohio Volunteer Infantry Association, 1912), 173.

⁵⁵ Bvt. Brig. Gen. S. V. M. Kennel (?) to Governor Hamilton, October 27, 1865, Governors' Papers: Andrew Jackson Hamilton (Archives Division, Texas State Library).

⁵⁶ *Flake's Daily Bulletin* (Galveston), March 14, April 4, 1866.

⁵⁷ *Galveston Daily News*, July 6, 1865.

of the same government.”⁵⁸ When the 114th Ohio was relieved in Millican, the *News* hoped that the Illinois regiment replacing it was as “considerate, orderly, and attentive to the interests of citizens” as the 114th had been in Galveston.⁵⁹

The situation in Houston was similar, as Lieutenants William Redman and Edward Mann of the 12th Illinois Cavalry documented. On January 16, Redman alluded to the continued anti-Union proclivities in the South when he wrote that “[t]he Girl that Pulls her hat to the American Flag is the girl for me, especially at the time she is surrounded by traitors and fools.”⁶⁰ By late December, Redman observed many northern men coming into Houston and going into business in the city. He also wrote that he had received an invitation from the city to attend a New Year’s Day event, which he planned to attend. Redman seemed to genuinely enjoy Texas and contemplated buying a plantation and living in the state when discharged from the Army.⁶¹ Mann had a slightly lower impression of Houston. He described the place “as filled up with speculators and gamblers. Society is not the best in the world.” However, time would “remedy this as the country grows older.” Consequently, the city did not look so nice because everyone was bent on making money.⁶² Although Redman’s letters articulated a desire for the rebels to be punished in some way, neither officer expressed problems with living in

⁵⁸ Ibid., June 21, 1865.

⁵⁹ Ibid., July 14, 1865. That Illinois regiment was the 29th Illinois. General C.C. Andrews to Major F.W. Emery, July 10, 1865, *Official Records*, series I, vol. 48, pt. 2, p.1069.

⁶⁰ William Redman to Mother, January 1, 1865, Redman Papers.

⁶¹ William Redman to Mother, December 26, 1865, Redman to Sis Jane, January 31, 1865, *ibid.*

⁶² Edward Mann to Wife, December 2, 1865, Hubbard Papers.

Houston or with its residents. As Redman noted, there were enough Unionists to keep the officers from feeling isolated in a sea of anti-Federal sentiment.

As Walter Buenger points out, both Houston and Galveston had a German-speaking population of at least one third, but retained a cultural and economic tie to East Texas and the lower South.⁶³ By 1870, at least 10 percent of the population was German-born, while blacks were one-fifth in Galveston County and a third in Houston's Harris County, drastically different than Brazos or Gonzales counties.⁶⁴ This higher percentage of Germans and foreign born in these counties were instrumental in helping to create smoother relations between the citizens and the military.

While most of the Fourth Army Corps marched to Green Lake, some regiments moved to Port Lavaca, a few miles northeast of Indianola. Many of these units languished at Camp Irwin, situated outside of Port Lavaca and was a poor campsite. Lieutenant George Parsons, of the 57th Indiana, took the chance to visit Port Lavaca in Calhoun County and mentioned that the townspeople avoided the soldiers but, unlike in Gonzales, the Confederate veterans were met as friends and were more hospitable than the townspeople.⁶⁵ Another soldier, Corporal Alvareze Coggeshall, discovered that the

⁶³ Buenger, *Secession and the Union in Texas*, 12.

⁶⁴ University of Virginia Geospatial and Statistical Data Center, "United States Historical Census Data Browser," <<http://fisher.lib.virginia.edu/census/>> [Accessed May 24, 2004].

⁶⁵ George W. Parsons to Benjamin Parsons, September 14, 1865, George W. Parsons Collection (Indiana Historical Society, Indianapolis, Indiana). Hereinafter cited as Parsons Collection.

locals would do business with soldiers. Coggeshall sold his rifle to a local rancher for forty silver dollars, enabling him to purchase desperately needed milk.⁶⁶

The white residents of Port Lavaca were not as welcoming as those elsewhere but the citizens of Victoria, in Victoria County, grew accustomed to the military's presence. The youths of Victoria held dancing parties in the countryside to avoid Yankee interference and soldiers' advances. However, as Victor Rose wrote in his 1883 history of Victoria, the girls became more accepting of the Union soldiers. Sergeant Nathaniel Kendall of the 3rd Michigan also observed their conviviality, writing that the women, who used to despise their occupiers, "can now be seen promenading the streets, although they eye a Yankee with a suspicious or non-confiding look. The indications of these ladies returning to their allegiance to the old Union is flattering."⁶⁷ Victoria struggled under a harsh post commander and witnessed at least one act of retaliation against a former Confederate officer for shooting a discharged Union soldier, apparently in self-defense.⁶⁸ These problems, however, were mainly the result of the post commander. A citizen of Victoria likened the post commander to a "small czar" who, in one instance, received gifts of whiskey and cigars from a storeowner but still shut down his store.⁶⁹

⁶⁶ Alvarez B. Coggeshall, *Civil War Memoirs of Alvarez B. Coggeshall*, ed. Norman D. Coggeshall and Alice Coggeshall Houser (United States: A. B. Coggeshall, Sr., 1980), 60.

⁶⁷ Victor M. Rose, *A Republishing of the Book Most Often Known as Victor Rose's History of Victoria*, ed. J. W. Petty (Laredo, Tex.: Daily Times Print, 1883; reprint, Victoria, Tex.: Book Mart, 1961), 54-55; N. C. Kendall, *Reminiscences of the Closing Scenes of the Great American Rebellion* (In the field: Sergt. N. C. Kendall, no date [1866?]), 37.

⁶⁸ Rose, *History of Victoria*, 56.

⁶⁹ John Joseph Linn, *Reminiscences of Fifty Years in Texas* (New York: D & J Sadler & Co., 1883), 60-61.

Of all cities, San Antonio was probably the most diverse in terms of pro-Union and pro-southern opinions and thoughts. It was one of Texas' largest cities, but its western location gave it a rough element even before any hostility between soldiers and civilians. According to one historian, during the Civil War, the city was one of no "law and order, besieged by criminals, and under constant fear of invasion from Indians, the Union Army and marauding deserters and draft-dodgers."⁷⁰ During the war, relations between the civil government and the Confederate military were adversarial at times. In addition, as Charles Adelbert Herf described the city, San Antonio was just "an overgrown frontier town." During and after the Civil War, "many undesirables drifted in from every where and nowhere." Society went from bad to worse, Herf asserted, with a string of mysterious deaths.⁷¹ This was the character of San Antonio and the problems therein did not always relate to pro-southern or anti-Union attitudes. It was just a rough city made rougher by the circumstances of Reconstruction. Racially, Buenger refers to San Antonio as the "center of Mexican Texas," but writes that the fourteen hundred Germans in San Antonio outnumbered the twelve hundred Tejanos in the city. In 1860, over one-third of Bexar County was foreign born, and one quarter of the county was

⁷⁰ Teresa Thomas Perrin, "Crime and Order in San Antonio During the Civil War and Reconstruction" (Ph.D. diss., University of Texas, 2001), 56.

⁷¹ "The Vigilantes in San Antonio in the Early Sixties," 23, 25-26, Charles Adelbert Herf Papers (Center for American History, University of Texas at Austin).

either German-born or Mexican-born in 1870.⁷² This strong non-Southern mix also affected civil-military relations in Texas.

Despite San Antonio's tenuous social situation, relations could be favorable between the citizens and soldiers. When the First Brigade, Third Division arrived at San Antonio after its march from Green Lake, Brigadier General August Willich, the brigade commander, was very ill. In the city, several Germans who knew Willich from the Revolutions of 1848 in Prussia nursed him back to health.⁷³ Alexis Cope appreciatively remembered that many Germans in San Antonio helped make the troops' lives a little easier.⁷⁴ One man in the 13th Wisconsin fell seriously ill and an unidentified woman took care of him. Despite her aid, this soldier died on New Year's Eve en route to Wisconsin.⁷⁵ There were times that the Union soldiers took a liking to a southern girl. For instance, Lieutenant Colonel John Atkinson married a Texan woman while in San Antonio.⁷⁶ Holidays were times when good cheer transcended occupier and occupied. The surgeon of the 4th Michigan wrote that Christmas in a region dominated by Roman

⁷² Buenger, *Secession and the Union in Texas*, 85-87; University of Virginia Geospatial and Statistical Data Center, "United States Historical Census Data Browser," <<http://fisher.lib.virginia.edu/census/>> [Accessed May 24, 2004].

⁷³ Alexis Cope, *The Fifteenth Ohio Volunteers and Its Campaigns, War of 1861-1865* (Columbus, Ohio: Edward T. Miller, Co., 1916), 779.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 785.

⁷⁵ David Hulburt to Brother Marvin, November 10, 1865; David Hulburt to Mother, November 26, 1865, David S. Hulburt Civil War Letters, 1862-1865 (Wisconsin Historical Society, Madison, Wisconsin). Hereinafter cited as Hulburt Letters.

⁷⁶ Kendall, *Reminiscences of the Closing Scenes of the Great American Rebellion*, 114.

Catholicism was enough of a new experience, but he also had dinner and company with several young ladies at the home of a woman whose son died in the Confederate Army.⁷⁷

While civil-military relations in San Antonio could be favorably established, they could also be undermined. Just as some Federal soldiers may have found wives in Texas, who were most likely Unionists, Sergeant Nathaniel Kendall observed that whereas southern men had been conquered, it was another question to “captivate the ‘Southern beauties,’ . . . until you doff the ‘blue,’ and don citizens garb.” Even then, one’s chances were slim.⁷⁸ The *Tri-Weekly Herald* reported the many times that soldiers were publicly drunk. While these reports usually involved soldiers fighting soldiers, the knowledge that the city’s occupiers were getting drunk certainly could not have positively affected Texan-soldier relations.

During this time, there were few cases of harassment reported in the newspaper. In other instances, occasions that should have improved and strengthened relations did the opposite. For example, during a concert by an Illinois regimental band, an Illini major asked to dance with a lady. A man approached the major and informed him that she did not dance with Federals. The major delivered “a good thrashing,” then beat a hasty retreat to evade arrest.⁷⁹ Another time, the Fourth Corps staff attended a fundraiser for the benefit of the Episcopal Church. Instead of showing appreciation, the women

⁷⁷ Joseph Griswold to Sister Hattie, December 26, 1865, Griswold Family Papers, 1837-1915 (Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan). Hereinafter cited as Griswold Papers.

⁷⁸ Kendall, *Reminiscences of the Closing Scenes of the Great American Rebellion*, 111.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 78.

who organized the event delivered highly insulting letters to the officers. Later they thanked the officers and denied having any knowledge about the letters.⁸⁰

One of the worst recorded incidents among the Western regiments was the death of Benjamin Chance of the 15th Ohio. On November 20, the 15th finished its muster-out rolls and the men eagerly looked forward to the voyage home. On the twenty-second, two days before the Buckeyes left for Ohio, Benjamin Chance was murdered in San Antonio. There were conflicting stories as to how this happened, but, according to Sergeant Nathaniel Kendall, who was on the Fourth Corps staff, one Texan attacked Chance while another stabbed the veteran in his heart. Both men were arrested soon thereafter. Understandably, the 15th Ohio was in a perfect furor that such would happen to a member of their regiment so close to going home. A mob of fuming soldiers converged on the jail and only the promise that the alleged murderers would be tried the next day prevented the mob from storming the jail. It dispersed but vented its anger by attacking Mexicans in the plaza and searching them for weapons. The military commission resulted in one of the accused being released and the other sentenced to hard labor for life at Dry Tortugas, Florida.⁸¹

After this incident, Sergeant Kendall was detailed to work in General Wright's office in Galveston as a printer. There he compared both San Antonio and Galveston. Kendall said that San Antonio was situated in a very beautiful spot and had good water. Nevertheless, in comparing and contrasting the two cities, Kendall preferred the city of

⁸⁰ Ibid., 81-83.

⁸¹ Ibid., 67-68, 83, 88; Cope, *Fifteenth Ohio Volunteers*, 784; *Tri-Weekly Herald* (San Antonio), December 8, 1865.

Galveston and its society because it was “congenial and far more preferable to that of San Antonio.”⁸²

Civil-military relations in Austin, on the other hand, did not become as bad as in San Antonio. Union cavalry entered the capital in late July escorting Governor Andrew Jackson Hamilton, but none of these were Western soldiers. General Custer’s ultimate destination was Austin but he and his force stayed at Hempstead until October. The two Western cavalry regiments that marched to Austin, the 7th Indiana and 2nd Wisconsin, left little record of their experience there. Although a highly romanticized account of postwar Texas, Libbie Custer wrote that when she left the state with her husband, “[t]he planters came to bid us good-by and we parted from them with reluctance. We had come into their State under trying circumstances, and the cordiality, generosity, and genuine good feeling that I knew they felt make our going a regret.”⁸³ Relations were not perfect, however. Five sellers of alcohol sent a petition to Governor Andrew Hamilton disputing a general order that forced them to pay \$50 a month to the Provost Marshal. They protested “against the execution of said Military order as being unjust, invidious, illegal and oppressive in the extreme.” They argued that because the civil government superseded the military in peacetime that Hamilton should order the military to rescind the order.⁸⁴ There was no further indication whether it happened.

⁸² Kendall, *Reminiscences of the Closing Scenes of the Great American Rebellion*, 105-106.

⁸³ Elizabeth Custer, *Tenting on the Plains: General Custer in Kansas and Texas* (New York: C. L. Webster & Co., 1887; Reprint, 3 vols.; Norman, Okla.: University of Oklahoma Press, 1971), II, 266.

⁸⁴ Letter to Governor Hamilton, August 7, 1865, Governors’ Papers: Andrew Jackson Hamilton (Archives Division, Texas State Library).

Historians have offered insight into the social blend of Texans and troopers in Austin. A. C. Greene wrote that the citizens had already assumed a “conciliatory view” toward the Unionists that would be in charge of the state government and the federal military occupying their land. In late September, a cavalry regiment hosted a successful ball. The situation was such that “Custer’s troops fitted right in with Austin life.”⁸⁵ In Frank Brown’s history of Travis County is one incident of a teamster in Federal service who broke into a woman’s home, but he also described the religious revival led by the 1st Iowa and 7th Indiana Cavalry regiments that lasted for ten days in January 1866.⁸⁶ That these two writers do not dwell on anecdotes of military tyranny suggests that there was little friction in the civil-military relations within Austin city limits. The main reason for these good relations, as James Marten shows, was the city’s position as the center of Texas unionism during the Civil War. Many of these men were loyal for economic reasons, but they would have been eager to see a united America and the chance to rebuild Texas and likely would have had few problems with the military in Austin.⁸⁷

Of the cities in Texas, New Braunfels was probably the most welcoming of Federal occupation, despite the fact that its county, Comal County, voted for secession. New Braunfels was a German city and because most German Texans were Unionists they heartily received the army. The regiment that was fortunate enough to be stationed in New Braunfels was the 59th Illinois. On September 6, 1865, Lieutenant Chesley

⁸⁵ A. C. Greene, “The Durable Society: Austin in the Reconstruction,” *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 72 (April, 1969): 494, 496.

⁸⁶ “Annals of Travis County,” 3, 5-6, Frank Brown Papers (Center for American History, University of Texas at Austin).

⁸⁷ Marten, *Texas Divided*, 63-5.

Mosman wondered, “Won’t we never get out of this state?” On the twenty-eighth, the regiment was transferred to New Braunfels and Mosman was rather upset that, again, the regiment had to move to a new location. He was not to be disappointed. When the regiment reached the city, Lewis Dougherty remembered that “the situation, weather, rations, freedom, absence of danger made our stay here pleasant.” Corporal George Washington Herr wrote in the regimental history that in New Braunfels, “the ‘boys’ became more reconciled to the situation. The camp was most pleasantly located on the north bank of the [Comal R]iver, water was good, rations passable, fishing and hunting all that could be desired.” Indeed, it was one of the regiment’s best campsites during its service.⁸⁸

Given the Teutonic nature of the town, the Germans in the regiment “were in clover” and had an advantage over their American comrades in talking with young ladies.⁸⁹ The language barrier was not prevalent throughout the entire town, for Mosman recorded meeting and getting to know a young lady by mid November and he showed no indication of speaking German. Beside that pleasant acquaintance, Mosman wrote that he had opportunities to play pool, attend the theater, go swimming in November, hunt

⁸⁸ Chesley Mosman, *The Rough Side of War: The Civil War Journal of Chesley Mosman, 1st Lieutenant, Company D, 59th Illinois Volunteer Infantry Regiment*, ed. Arnold Gates (Garden City, N.Y.: Basin Publishing, Co., 1987), 383; Lewis Cass Dougherty, “Recollections of L. C. Dougherty,” L. C. Dougherty Papers (Illinois State Historical Society, Springfield, Illinois), 183; George Washington Herr, *Episodes of the Civil War, Nine Campaigns in Nine States: Fremont in Missouri—Curtis in Missouri and Arkansas—Halleck’s Siege of Corinth—Buell in Kentucky—Rosecrans in Kentucky and Tennessee—Grant at the Battle of Chattanooga—Sherman from Chattanooga to Atlanta—Thomas in Tennessee and North Carolina—Stanley in Texas. In Which is Comprised the History of the Fifty-ninth Regiment of Illinois Veteran Volunteer Infantry—Together with Special Mention of the Various Regiments with which it was Brigaded from 1861 to 1865* (San Francisco: The Bancroft Company, 1890), 350.

⁸⁹ Herr, *Episodes of the Civil War*, 350.

and attend social functions such as balls and dances.⁹⁰ These diversions were not restricted to just officers. Dougherty recalled that he, a corporal, was invited to various citizens' dinner tables.⁹¹ The 59th Illinois' stay in New Braunfels was probably the most enviable post throughout Texas. New Braunfels further shows the relationship and importance of location as a determining factor in the men's experience in Texas. The 114th Ohio desired to make Texas howl like Georgia in 1864 primarily because the regiment was posted in a staunchly anti-Union place, but no member of the 59th Illinois would have agreed that every Texan city deserved such punishment.

If the Central District had diverse civil-military relations, the Western District, made up of the area between the Nueces River and the Rio Grande, did not.⁹² Most soldiers in the Western District were sent to the border to maintain a force opposite the French in Mexico. There, the role filled by these units dictated the men's experiences. One reason is because the lower Rio Grande was not heavily populated, and there were not as many encounters related between Texans and soldiers. Another reason is the region's dual Anglo-Mexican culture that differed from the rest of Texas. In Cameron County, where Brownsville is located, 60 percent of the population was foreign born in 1860, most likely Mexican.⁹³ Role also dictated position, because, except for the soldiers at Goliad and a black garrison in Corpus Christi, there were very few soldiers or

⁹⁰ Mosman, *Rough Side of War*, 391-397.

⁹¹ "Recollections of L. C. Dougherty," 183-184.

⁹² General Order, no. 4, Headquarters Department of Texas and Louisiana, *Official Records*, series 1, vol. 48, pt. 1, p. 1094-1095.

⁹³ University of Virginia Geospatial and Statistical Data Center, "United States Historical Census Data Browser," <<http://fisher.lib.virginia.edu/census/>> [Accessed May 24, 2004].

garrisons between the Rio Grande and San Antonio. Consequently, “guerilla parties and jayhawkers [were] reported to be still on the Brownsville road, robbing every train and traveler that passed” between Goliad and Brownsville, where the military presence was minimal.⁹⁴ For whatever reason that few soldiers remained between San Antonio and the Rio Grande in 1865, this criminal presence remained strong for some time during Reconstruction.

However, while the Federal volunteers were in Texas, they were to threaten the French in Mexico, who had violated the Monroe Doctrine. Because General Frederick Steele’s division was to cover as much of the Rio Grande as possible, it was feasible that a regiment could be posted in an otherwise isolated area. Commanding the Western District, Steele worked hard at his dual Reconstruction and military duties in Brownsville. He was blessed to have an honorable former Confederate officer, John Salmon “Rip” Ford, helping to coax former Rebel soldiers to return to Brownsville to be properly paroled. When Steele was transferred to the West, he was complimented by Brownsville’s rabidly conservative newspaper, the *Daily Ranchero*, for his neutrality and gave him “the best wishes of our citizens and authorities for his personal welfare.”⁹⁵

The *Ranchero* printed many editorials against President Johnson’s use of the Monroe Doctrine, it complained about the military presence, and it challenged American neutrality by correctly linking Federal forces with Mexican Liberals fighting the French Imperialists in Mexico. What was not mentioned were crimes against the citizenry of

⁹⁴ *Galveston Daily News*, July 13, 1865.

⁹⁵ *Daily Ranchero* (Matamoras, Mexico), October 21, 1865.

Brownsville. If soldiers had committed crimes, especially if they were black soldiers, the *Ranchero* would most definitely have printed such news. That the paper did not, especially considering the source, suggests that Texan-soldier relations were relatively smooth.

This is not to suggest that the soldiers were the paragon of discipline. For one, the soldiers did not hold high views of the people in the area. One Wisconsin captain called the citizens of Bagdad, Mexico, “the very scum of the earth.”⁹⁶ There is no reason to believe that the people around Brownsville or Clarksville were any different in his eyes. Historian James Crews points to an increase in crime during this time in Brownsville. In addition, many citizens fled before the Union advance in May 1865 and many houses were used for quarters. Some civilians had a difficult time regaining their homes from the Army.⁹⁷ Ferdinand Kurz also said that on December 24, the 13th Wisconsin was informed that it was too unruly and the black regiments were praised for having good discipline.⁹⁸

While on the Rio Grande, the soldiers prepared for the worst in the event that a shooting war began with France. The United States government, in upholding the Monroe Doctrine, supported Benito Juárez’s Liberals against the Austrian Prince Maximilian, a puppet ruler installed by Napoleon III of France. Sheridan and Grant

⁹⁶ Thomas N. Stevens, “*Dear Carrie*,” . . . *The Civil War Letters of Thomas N. Stevens*, ed. George M. Blackburn (Mount Pleasant, Mich.: Central Michigan University, 1984), 327-328.

⁹⁷ Jonathan A. Beall, “The Military Occupation of the Lower Rio Grande Valley, 1865-1866,” *The Journal of South Texas* 16 (Fall 2003), 220-221.

⁹⁸ Ferdinand Kurz, “Ferdinand Kurz Reminiscences” (copy at Wisconsin Historical Society, Madison Wisconsin), 35.

staunchly supported the Liberals and many Union soldiers also supported them as well. Whereas the soldiers did not have an opportunity to interact with their own countrymen, some had a chance to meet with the Mexicans.⁹⁹ The 4th Wisconsin Cavalry was transferred to Steele's command in September and patrolled westward along the Rio Grande. The regimental history stated that "the duties of the men and officers require them frequently in Mexico and the best good feeling exists between them and the liberals."¹⁰⁰ In a letter home, Lieutenant Flint wrote of his Christmas in Mexico with a Liberal general.¹⁰¹ In these instances, the only interaction the soldiers had was with soldiers on the other side of the Rio Grande, not the people they were occupying. Again, these differences in the Western District were caused more by the role these soldiers filled rather than Reconstruction duties.

As events in these locales show, civil-military relations differed by location. The Westerners' attitudes through Reconstruction were very similar. Therefore, any differences in their postwar occupation duty heavily relied on where they were located, that is, the quality of the people they occupied and their acceptance of the Army occupiers. Custer, in his interview before the Joint Committee on Reconstruction,

⁹⁹ In 1861, Benito Juárez, elected president of Mexico, declared a debt moratorium on all foreign debts to recoup from the war that installed him as president. France, Spain, and Great Britain sent expeditionary forces to Mexico try to get their money back. Spain and Great Britain soon withdrew from the country, but France stayed and established a puppet government under Austrian prince Maximilian in 1862. The goal was to stabilize the country enough so other countries would recognize Maximilian as leader of Mexico. Juárez waged a war on Maximilian's Imperialist forces and it led all the way to Matamoros on the Rio Grande, thus necessitating a large American force after the Civil War.

¹⁰⁰ "Miscellaneous Data Relating to the Fourth Wisconsin to and Including Jan. 1st, 1866," George W. Durgin Papers (Wisconsin Historical Society, Madison, Wisconsin), 14.

¹⁰¹ Jeremiah E. Flint, *The Civil War Letters of Jeremiah F. Flint, 1861/1866: Formerly 1st Lieutenant, Company G, 4th Wisconsin Infantry/Cavalry and the River Falls Rifles and the Hudson City Guards and Former River Falls Postmaster* ed. Richard N. Larsen (Oregon, Wis.: R. N. Larsen, 2002), 92.

observed that relations were not the same throughout the state, and this was based on military posts' strengths. Custer's observation is not completely adequate because such places as Livingston, Gonzales, and Millican resisted the military and relations were consequently tense. While a military unit may have forced the civilians to control their pro-Confederate beliefs and it certainly curbed violence in those areas, it did not automatically make the people accept or tolerate the soldiers.

The urban areas were more receptive of the Union forces, as General Stanley suggested to the Joint Committee. This differentiation was because of the number of Unionists, but also because of economic interests and the ethnic makeup of the various counties. The more Germans present in a county, such as Houston, Galveston, or San Antonio, the easier it could be to establish favorable relations. A place like New Braunfels, a smaller town than Houston or Galveston, was nearly all Unionist, arguably making that town the best post in all of Texas. Economic interests greatly affected Houston and Galveston, and a desire to restart their economies, making them more receptive to the Yankee occupiers. The Western District of Texas was sparsely settled anyhow, and so the soldiers did not have many people with whom to interact. However, the heavy Tejano influence prevented much of the resentment that Ohioans encountered in Millican or Gonzales. San Antonio, an exception to the rule, was already a rough town given its location and the postwar realities, making good Texan-soldier relations harder to accomplish.

While location helps to show why the volunteers had different experiences in postwar Texas, the use of citizen soldiers in occupation Texas, and their responses to

being used as an occupation force, is more complex than just location alone. Time served in Texas, regimental and brigade leadership, and the role these units played also help to explain differences in occupation Texas.

CHAPTER IV

RELUCTANT DUTY: CITIZEN SOLDIERS IN POSTWAR TEXAS

In November 1865, a Hoosier lieutenant wrote from Port Lavaca: “to tell the Truth I am getting very tired of Texas . . . our Reg[imen]t Does nothing at the present but Stand Guard in this Town.”¹ An enlisted man in the 3rd Michigan Cavalry stated, in regards to a “mutiny” in his regiment, that he did not care if he received a dishonorable discharge, because he only wanted to go home.² An Illini sergeant wrote in January 1866 that he was in excellent health and “would like to come home very much, but can stand it for another year if necessary.”³

Through the four years of hard marching, threats from diseases, and gruesome carnage of Civil War combat, the soldiers had changed. What they encountered in camps or on the battlefield was like nothing anyone expected to occur by 1865. Federal soldiers’ sense of duty made them enlist, their honor kept them in the ranks during battle, but it was a sense of courage as well as their commitment to each other and the preservation of the Union that allowed them to endure their years of service.⁴ But what

¹ Mark Morris to Mary J. Manlove, November 10, 1856, Mark M. Morris Papers, 1856-1903 (Lilly Library, Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana).

² Elihu P. Chadwick Diary, 1864-1866, 76 (Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan). Hereinafter referred to Chadwick Diary.

³ Thomas Reeves Brown, *Tom Brown “Soger Boy”: 37th Illinois Veteran Volunteer Company K, 1861-1866: A Compilation of Thomas Reeves Brown’s Family Letters*, ed. David K. Brown and Betty McIntosh Loesch (Mercer Island, Wash.: David K. Brown, 1996), 174.

⁴ This interpretation combines both the conclusions of Gerald Linderman and James McPherson on reasons why men fought in the war. These scholars’ two interpretations of soldiers’ motivation, while different, are not necessarily mutually exclusive. Gerald F. Linderman, *Embattled Courage: The Experience of Combat in the American Civil War* (New York: The Free Press, 1987), 16; James M.

happened when their ideological and social sustenance were not sufficient to keep them in the service anymore? What happened when the Western volunteers were forced to remain in the army in peacetime when the threat to the Union was gone?

Studies of the army in Reconstruction Texas often do not consider that the first forces in Texas were not Regular soldiers, but citizen soldiers, volunteers and draftees.⁵ This is an important perspective to remember when examining the Westerners in Texas. While there was certainly tension between the Federals and the civilians, another important tension was between the volunteers and the army. There was a strong desire on the part of the citizen soldiers to go home, but the need for a military force in Texas outweighed the men's considerations. This annoyance at being kept in the army made it difficult for them to do their duty as soldiers. Almost all of the volunteers detested being stationed in Texas, whether or not they agreed with the reasons, for simply being retained on active duty. In addition, the troops expected the military and government to fulfill certain obligations, such as adequate medicine and healthy camps, sufficient rations, and a regular mail service. The army did not always faithfully fulfill these obligations, adding to the soldiers' resentment and making it harder for them to do their duty. Conversely, the military expected certain behaviors out of the men, namely, that

McPherson, *For Cause and Comrades: Why Men Fought in the Civil War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997).

⁵ Harry Pfanz remarks that some volunteer regiments in Reconstruction disgraced their regiments and their country. As the Michigan cavalryman cited in note 2, honor was not an important issue to some soldiers—they simply wanted to go home. Richter writes that some of the men were dangerous to others around them because morale was so low. Pfanz, "Soldiering During the Reconstruction Period," 98; Richter, "It Is Best to Go in Strong-Handed," 142.

they maintain military effectiveness, order, and discipline. However, because the army did not hold up its end of the bargain, the volunteers did not always hold up theirs.

This strained relationship is important in examining how the soldiers lived and acted in postwar occupation Texas. Despite these stresses, most of the Westerners in postwar Texas acquitted themselves well. They did not always act honorably, but much of their dishonorable behavior can be understood within this tension—a strong desire to go home combined with the government’s failure to properly support them in Texas. When the reason for their enlistment ceased to exist, and honor and courage were insufficient to justify their service, the volunteers had to rely on their sense of duty as soldiers while they occupied Texas, difficult as it became at times. Overall, most of the men kept to their duty, and for this, they should be commended. This tension was affected by the men’s ability or inability to understand the reasons for their postwar presence and the conditions they found themselves in their camps, namely that of health, rations, and boredom. The difficulty in doing their duty manifested itself in discipline problems occurring between 1865 and 1866.

The first major role for the military was to assist in reinstating law, order, and civil governments. When the army first arrived, there was little law and order through much of the state. In June 1865, General Gordon Granger reported to General Philip Sheridan that the area along the border was filled with robbers and thieves, mainly unparoled ex-Confederate soldiers, who were running stock across the Mexican border,

ostensibly to sell to French forces.⁶ A corollary of reestablishing law and order was the job of confiscating all public property that had not been turned over when the Confederates surrendered in early June. For example, the 37th Illinois was ordered to proceed to Sabine City and “take possession of such Govt property as may be in or near Sabine City, obtain information of all Govt property which may be in the neighborhood.”⁷ The army was also to assist civil governments and the Freedmen’s Bureau when requested. Sidney Herriman, a trooper in the 3rd Michigan Cavalry, was detailed with eleven other troopers to ride to Sutherland Springs in Wilson County to assist the Bureau in January 1866. The detachment seemed to be ineffectively deployed, because much of its time was spent lounging around or hunting.⁸

Those soldiers that reflected on why they were in Texas generally understood and agreed with their assignment. Private William Hinshaw, stationed in Marshall, was happy enough to “no more hear the booming of cannon or the rattle of musketry or the clash of small arms.” He was correct in noting that they “came out here for the purpose of taking care of government property and to establish civil law and justice throughout this state.” From Green Lake, Colonel Ephraim Holloway, of the 41st Ohio, wrote to his wife to dispel the myth “that the troops have been sent here to Texas at the request of the officers.” Instead, the officers were duty-bound to go with the regiment, although they

⁶ Granger to Sheridan, June 19, 1865, *Letters Sent by the Department of Texas, the District of Texas, and the Fifth Military District, 1856-1858 and 1865-1870*, Microfilm Publication M1165, Reel 1, Record Group 393 (Washington: National Archives, 1981).

⁷ Major F.W. Emery to Major Kennicott, July 11, 1865, *ibid.*

⁸ Diary entries January 25 to February 2, 1866, Sidney H. Herriman Diary, 1865-1866 (Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan). Hereinafter cited as Herriman Diary.

were just as anxious to come home. The reason for their presence, he reported to her, was “to restore law and order . . . and relieve a suffering people [Unionists] from the many outrages committed upon them by a lot of out laws and marauders that are infesting every part of Texas.” The volunteers were but a stopgap until the Regular Army could send soldiers to Texas and replace them.⁹

Some soldiers believed that other forces were at work. Elihu Chadwick blamed General Wesley Merritt, Colonel John K. Mizner, and even Mizner’s wife for keeping them in Texas. Chadwick was convinced that Mizner manipulated where cavalry regiments were brigaded in order to keep them in service longer. He also wrote that the officers wanted to stay in the army because it was a guaranteed paycheck, allowing them to put off finding a job in the civilian world.¹⁰ The idea that officers were the reason for the assignment in Texas was not uncommon. Jumbling several assertions, William Hartpence wrote that some thought they were in Texas “to gratify the whim of an excited and pertinacious official, or for the purpose of making somebody military governor, or securing a fat railroad contract.”¹¹ Emmet West, of the 2nd Wisconsin Cavalry, did not fully appreciate the conditions of postwar Texas when he wrote that the “expedition into Louisiana and Texas after the war was over was worse than useless . . . It cost many lives, much suffering and expense, and nothing was accomplished.” West complained

⁹ Ephraim Holloway to Wife, July 28, 1865, Ephraim S. Holloway Papers (Ohio Historical Society, Columbus, Ohio). Hereinafter cited as Holloway Papers.

¹⁰ Chadwick Diary, 47-48, 54.

¹¹ William R. Hartpence, *History of the Fifty-First Indiana Veteran Volunteer Infantry: A Narrative of Its Organization, Marches, Battles, and Other Experiences in Camp and Prison, From 1861-1866* (Cincinnati: Robert Clarke Co., 1894), 312.

that it was a vacation for Custer, his wife, his brother, his father, and his staff; the cavalry were merely Custer's escorts.¹²

Other soldiers confessed that they simply did not know why they were in Texas. Some men in the 13th Wisconsin thought that the reason was to support the African-American soldiers who were hated by most white Texans, while others surmised that it was to support the upcoming state elections in August. Most did not know.¹³ Gustavus Field, who was bitter about being in Texas, remarked that "we were sent here to keep the people of Texas orderly but that would not require a hundred thousand soldiers and as far as I have learned there is not the least disturbance among the people here."¹⁴ At that point in mid-August, Field was at Green Lake and was not exposed to the same problems that the 49th Ohio faced in Gonzales or the 114th Ohio encountered in Millican or to the lawlessness throughout Texas.

Despite irritation at being compelled to stay in the army, most men did their duty and remained. While the Fourth Corps was in Texas it had the luxury to debate its purpose. The soldiers of Steele's division and the Twenty-fifth Corps knew from the beginning what their purpose was: to oppose the French Intervention or, if need be, to actively fight the French, the second main role of the army in Texas. This role, different

¹² Emmet C. West, *History and Reminiscences of the Second Wisconsin Cavalry Regiment* (Portage, Wis.: State Register Print, 1904; Reprint Rochester: Grand Army Press, 1982), 31.

¹³ David Hulburt to Brother Marvin, July 24, 1865, David S. Hulburt Civil War Letters, 1862-1865 (Wisconsin Historical Society, Madison, Wisconsin). Hereinafter cited as Hulburt Letters.

¹⁴ Gustavus Field to Annie, August 11, 1865, Gustavus Adolphus Field Papers, 1863-1865 (Wisconsin State Historical Society, Madison, Wisconsin). Hereinafter cited as Field Papers.

from what units stationed further north filled, affected what the volunteers experienced during their postwar service.

In 1861, Mexican President Benito Juárez defeated monarchists after four years of war and intended to establish a republican government. With an empty treasury, Juárez declared a debt moratorium, upsetting his creditors of Spain, France, and Great Britain. These three European nations sent expeditionary forces to Mexico to force the nation to pay its debts. By 1862, disease and diplomacy convinced the British and Spanish forces to leave, but France remained to install a puppet government under Austrian prince Maximilian. The goal was to stabilize Maximilian and keep a French military presence in Mexico until other nations recognized Maximilian as the nation's leader.¹⁵ Juárez and his Liberal forces opposed this aggressive intrusion.

During the Civil War, the Confederates maintained good relations with Maximilian's Imperialist forces and there was brisk business along the Rio Grande as the Confederates used Matamoros to funnel needed goods into Texas and the Trans-Mississippi Department.¹⁶ The Imperialist forces once had cordial relations with friendly Confederates but faced a "hostile United States that might intervene at any moment" in 1865 and 1866.¹⁷

The United States firmly contested France's blatant violation of the Monroe Doctrine but could do nothing until it finished its own civil war. After the war, it was

¹⁵ Jonathan A. Beall, "The Military Occupation of the Lower Rio Grande Valley, 1865-1866," *The Journal of South Texas* 16 (Fall 2003), 208-209.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 201, 202, 208-209.

¹⁷ William Richter, "The Army in Texas During Reconstruction, 1865-1870," (Ph.D. Diss., Louisiana State University, 1970), 62.

the job of General Frederick Steele's division and most of the Twenty-fifth Army Corps to counter the French. Steele received several sets of instructions pertaining to his position along the Rio Grande. In summary, he was ordered to move his units westward as quickly as possible to prevent anyone from crossing the river illegally and to "observe a strict neutrality toward Mexico in the French and English sense of the word."¹⁸ No country, Mexico, France, nor the United States, observed that policy meticulously.

Despite the difficulty, Steele attempted to be as neutral as possible, although he favored the Liberals.¹⁹ Sheridan, who staunchly opposed the French Intervention, ordered Steele in early July 1865 to "[a]nnoy the French authorities as much as you can without provoking actual hostilities or without making it too apparent."²⁰ On July 10, Sheridan wrote to Grant that "the little irritations which I have encouraged along the river" had an effect of alarming the Imperialists in Matamoras.²¹ Brownsville's conservative newspaper supporting Maximilian, the *Daily Ranchero*, wrote heatedly that Juan Cortina, a Mexican Liberal with a violent past who had taken over Brownsville in 1859, was cooperating with the U.S. Army. It charged that Cortina's collaboration with

¹⁸ Gen. Edward R. S. Canby to Gen. Frederick Steele, June 1, 1865, *The Civil War CD-ROM: The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Carmel, Ind.: Guild Press of Indiana, Inc., 1996), series I, vol. 48, pt. 2, p. 716-717; Gen. Gordon Granger to Steele, *ibid.*, p. 930; Gen. Ulysses Grant to Steele, *ibid.*, p. 525-526. Hereinafter cited as *Official Records*.

¹⁹ Steele to Black, June 29, 1865, John Charles Black Papers (Illinois State Historic Library, Springfield, Illinois). Hereinafter cited as Black Papers.

²⁰ Quoted in Thomas David Schoonover, *Dollars Over Dominion: The Triumph of Liberalism in Mexican-United States Relations, 1861-1867* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1978), 197.

²¹ Sheridan to Grant, July 10, 1865, *Official Records*, series I, vol. 48, pt. 2, p. 1067.

the hated Federal forces undermined any United States neutrality.²² This problem with neutrality, however, was deeper than just the generals in command. For instance, a letter from a French general to another French officer charged that three hundred Illini crossed the Rio Grande to help the Liberals, although this is not confirmed by any Illinois regiment stationed along the border or from Department of Texas records.²³

Some Western regiments found themselves involved in the French Intervention. One example was the 4th Wisconsin Cavalry, which was sent from San Antonio to patrol the border. According to its regimental history, the Badgers sometimes entered Mexico, but the “the best feeling exists between them and the Liberals.”²⁴ Lieutenant Flint, who recorded having Christmas with a Liberal general, considered joining “the liberals across the river, if there was enough money to be made in it.”²⁵

In early February 1866, Nathaniel Windsor, of the 4th Wisconsin Cavalry, was ordered to take a dispatch from Brownsville to Brazos Santiago. Along the way, he “was lassoed by some Mexicans and taken several rods from the road, hung in a tree and mutilated” in Mexico. The regimental historian wrote that this was in retaliation for an attack on Bagdad, Mexico, by a regiment of African-American soldiers. After a search of three or four days, members of the 4th located Windsor’s body, “and [it] was as black

²² *Daily Ranchero*, July 7, July 25, August 1, August 30, 1865.

²³ Jack Autrey Dabbs, *The French Army in Mexico, 1861-1867: A Study in Military Government*, Studies in American History II (The Hague: Mouton & Co., 1963), 150.

²⁴ “Miscellaneous Data Relating to the Fourth Wisconsin to and Including Jan. 1st, 1866,” George W. Durgin Papers (Wisconsin Historical Society, Madison, Wisconsin), 14.

²⁵ Jeremiah E. Flint, *The Civil War Letters of Jeremiah F. Flint, 1861/1866: Formerly 1st Lieutenant, Company G, 4th Wisconsin Infantry/Cavalry and the River Falls Rifles and the Hudson City Guards and Former River Falls Postmaster* ed. Richard N. Larsen (Oregon, Wis.: R. N. Larsen, 2002), 92.

as a colored man. He had been there so long, that the minute he was touched his head came right off and the body fell to the ground in a mush and we had quite a time to get his poor mutilated remains into a box and bury him.” Surely as infuriated as the 15th Ohio when Benjamin Chance was killed, three soldiers found a camp of twenty-five Mexicans between Brownsville and Brazos Santiago. While these men claimed they were not Imperialists and had nothing to do with Windsor’s death, the cavalrymen “made up [their] minds that they didn’t look good to us.” Instead of executing the twenty-five Mexicans, the three troopers made the men swim across the Rio Grande wearing their clothes. Whether any drowned, no one knew.²⁶

The French did not completely respect neutrality either, as the attack on Nathaniel Windsor shows. On November 10 and 24, General Wright responded to letters from Weitzel about Imperial naval vessels firing on the American lines. Weitzel believed that the firings were intentional, not accidental.²⁷ While Union soldiers entered Mexico, in May 1866, “Captain Ramsay [of the 4th Wisconsin Cavalry], then stationed . . . 15 miles from Brownsville encountered 11 Imperial Soldiers, called Contra Guerrillas, crossing the river for the purpose of murder and theft. Refusing to obey the Capt’s

²⁶ W. H. Mason, *Personal Memoirs of the Great Civil War (From 1861-to 1865)* (Hancock, Mich.: W.H. Mason, no date), 64-66.

²⁷ Wright to Weitzel, November 10 and 24, 1865, *Letters Sent by the Department of Texas, the District of Texas, and the Fifth Military District, 1856-1858 and 1865-1870*, Microfilm Publication M1165, Reel 1, Record Group 393 (Washington: National Archives, 1981).

orders to halt—6 of their number were killed, and their horses and equipment captured.”²⁸

The biggest problem that Federal commanders on the border handled was filibusterers, or American civilians who wanted to give aid to the Liberals. These men were not in the army and therefore not held to the same rules that soldiers were. For instance, when Weitzel complained about French ships firing on the American lines, it was likely to defend from attacks by filibusterers.²⁹ The most famous incident was the attack on Bagdad, Mexico, on January 6, 1866, by former Union Colonel R. Clay Crawford. Crawford led approximately three hundred black soldiers, who had not been discharged, to attack a Mexican town at the mouth of the Rio Grande, which they successfully captured. Crawford and his force was eventually extricated, but not until after the town was plundered. Much to the chagrin of the Imperialists, nothing came of the affair.³⁰ Nevertheless, the problem was with Americans citizens, not American soldiers.

For some Westerners, acting as a force in being was enough of a reason to be in Texas. Colonel John Charles Black, on Steele’s staff, wrote in late July that he fully expected to “within a month to be able to write from Mexico en route to the halls of

²⁸ M.W. Chittenden, Adjutant of the 4th Wisconsin Cavalry to Adjutant General of Wisconsin, “History of the 4th Wisconsin Cavalry Regiment,” Wisconsin Adjutant General Records (Wisconsin Historical Society, Madison, Wisconsin).

²⁹ Beall, “The Military Occupation of the Lower Rio Grande Valley,” 213.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 213-214.

Montezuma or from Louisiana en route from home.”³¹ John Spaulding, of the 2nd Illinois Cavalry, believed that “our destination is *Mexico*. I see [the officers] are bound to take us there yet before they let us go. Let them do as they may I am going to stick by them to the last.” Spaulding decided that although “many have already left and ‘gone to parts unknown,’” it was wrong for the Federal government to keep the volunteers in service. He did not “think any man Justified in deserting therefore I would not uphold, Screen, or protect one who did.”³²

Many those in the Central District who reflected on why they were in Texas focused on the French presence in Mexico. Lewis Dougherty believed that France had the blessing of the Pope to reclaim the Louisiana Purchase and had waited until the United States was weak before invading. This was why “General Sheridan was sent with a *Veteran* army into Texas to be in striking distance of the French in Mexico.”³³ By contrast, the troopers of the 2nd Illinois Cavalry did not understand why they were in Texas. It was not until “[l]ater developments showed that the sudden mobilization on the frontier of an army of tried veterans, ready if necessary, to fight another war [with the French], made the foreigners gasp.” Their regimental historian claimed that this posting of veteran soldiers saved the United States.³⁴ The regimental historian of the 125th Ohio acknowledged the government’s desire to retain a military force “until things

³¹ John Charles Black to Mother, July 29, 1865, Black Papers.

³² John Spaulding to Sallie, September 2, 1865, Zebulon Parker Papers (Illinois State Historical Library, Springfield, Illinois).

³³ Lewis Cass Dougherty, “Recollections of L. C. Dougherty,” L. C. Dougherty Papers (Illinois State Historical Society, Springfield, Illinois), 173-174.

³⁴ Samuel H. Fletcher, *The History of Company A, Second Illinois Cavalry* (n.p., 1912), 167.

have settled down in the Southern states” and because the force in Texas was to support the Monroe Doctrine. The author further noted that while they did not enlist to fight two wars, he would “wager our pocket knives that the boys would rather fight Maximilian’s army than stay” in Port Lavaca.³⁵ Unlike Clark, William Hartpence wrote that some Hoosiers in the 51st Indiana regarded the French Intervention as merely a pretext for Sheridan to invade Mexico.³⁶

The French Intervention did not convince everyone that the occupation of Texas was worthwhile. When they heard rumors that U.S. forces had crossed into Mexico, both Elihu Chadwick and Gustavus Field wrote that they would not cross the Rio Grande to fight the French. Field stated further that most soldiers in the Department had resolved to not cross the border voluntarily because they had not enlisted to fight another war.³⁷ George Herr wrote that as the 59th Illinois marched to Green Lake from Indianola, they were willing to allow Maximilian to rule Mexico. Herr complained that “there certainly could have been no justifiable cause for thus marching the men whose long service in the defense of their country entitled them to be at that very moment enjoying the comforts of home.”³⁸

³⁵ Charles T. Clark, *Opdycke Tigers 125 O.V.I.: A History of the Regiment and of the Campaigns and Battles of the Army of the Cumberland* (Columbus, Ohio: Spahr & Glenn, 1895), 400.

³⁶ Hartpence, *History of the Fifty-First Indiana Veteran Volunteer Infantry*, 351.

³⁷ Chadwick Diary, 81; Gustavus Field to Annie, October 12, 1866, Field Papers.

³⁸ George Washington Herr, *Episodes of the Civil War, Nine Campaigns in Nine States: Fremont in Missouri—Curtis in Missouri and Arkansas—Halleck’s Siege of Corinth—Buell in Kentucky—Rosecrans in Kentucky and Tennessee—Grant at the Battle of Chattanooga—Sherman from Chattanooga to Atlanta—Thomas in Tennessee and North Carolina—Stanley in Texas. In Which is Comprised the History of the Fifty-ninth Regiment of Illinois Veteran Volunteer Infantry—Together with Special Mention of the*

Despite tension that ran high at this time between the French and the United States, one regiment on the Rio Grande did not see any importance in continuing its service. The 34th Indiana was stationed near Brownsville and in early October a hospital steward requested that the governor of Indiana, Oliver Morton, use his influence to have the 34th discharged. The Hoosiers, the steward reported, had done their duty as soldiers. On the Rio Grande, they could not “say that we are on duty here: but are lying in inactivity and I know not of what benefit we are here (All Quiet on the Rio Grande).” The 34th wanted to go home, especially as winter approached. They had not been paid in eight months, causing destitution for families dependent on the soldiers’ pay. In addition, the regiment’s health was declining, and rations were poor. The men had done their duty, why could they not go home?³⁹ The steward and the rest of the regiment waited until February 1866 to return to their loved ones.

Understanding and agreeing with the army’s role in Texas was one factor that influenced how the men acted and performed their duties. As the steward’s complaint indicated, other factors made a difference, including such as camp conditions and health, the quality and quantity of food, and the degree of boredom and homesickness. These basic elements of soldier life affected morale naturally adversely or favorably affected the men and shaped how they did their duty. According to historian Robert Shook, the size of the state, unexpected weather conditions, long distances between cities, and a

Various Regiments with which it was Brigaded from 1861 to 1865 (San Francisco: The Bancroft Company, 1890), 349.

³⁹ R. F. Lenycoty [?] to Governor Oliver P. Morton, October 2, 1865, 34th *IVI Correspondence*, Roll 33, (Indiana State Archives, Indianapolis, Indiana).

primitive railroad network all worked against making service in Texas more tolerable.⁴⁰

By contrast, the camps around San Antonio, and especially at New Braunfels, were better and some consolation to being in Texas.

The 34th Indiana's camp was not a place that spoke of good planning or an attempt to keep the troops' needs in mind at higher levels. To his credit, however, Steele wrote Wright about building barracks for enlisted personnel rather than have them live in two-man shelter tents along the Rio Grande. Wright replied that Sheridan had disapproved of building barracks. Instead, the soldiers would be issued new tents, presumably larger ones. Wright concluded that the "troops have lived in a much more inhospitable climate during the entire war without barracks and it is not seen why it could [not] be done now with the troops here."⁴¹

The camps of many in the Second Division, Fourth Army Corps were not much better than those along the Rio Grande. This division marched to Port Lavaca instead of marching to Green Lake. The 57th Indiana did not have a good campsite for much of this time. The regimental historian recollected that Camp Irwin, their camp, was one of "constant inaction and exposure to disease, in an unhealthy climate, [bringing] on restlessness."⁴² Lieutenant George Parsons wrote that the camp was situated on a large open prairie next to a stream chocolate in color, it was constantly hot, and mail was

⁴⁰ Robert Walter Shook, "Federal Occupation and Administration of Texas, 1865-1870," (Ph.D. Diss., North Texas State University, 1970), 106, 112.

⁴¹ Wright to Steele, September 18, 1865, *Letters Sent by the Department of Texas, the District of Texas, and the Fifth Military District, 1856-1858 and 1865-1870*, Microfilm Publication M1165, Reel 1, Record Group 393 (Washington: National Archives, 1981).

⁴² Asbury L. Kerwood, *Annals of the Fifty-Seventh Regiment Indiana Volunteers: Marches, Battles, and Incidents of Army Life, by a Member of the Regiment* (Dayton, Ohio: W. J. Shuey, 1868), 317.

irregular.⁴³ After a good rain in late August, Captain John McGraw described the place as “the nastiest in the world[, the mud was] black and sticky like Glue and it seems like it is impossible to get it off.”⁴⁴ McGraw’s outlook improved when the regiment moved to Port Lavaca in October. This move, plus the cooler weather, seemed to raise his morale. In mid-October, he wrote that he liked it “here [in Port Lavaca] a great deal better than I did at Camp Irwin.” The men were catching fish and a congenial man from Ohio offered some company.⁴⁵

There was also a strong connection between each camp and the troops’ health, as the hospital steward alluded. Despite having better water in Port Lavaca, Corporal Alvarez Coggeshall reported that several of the 57th Indiana died in Texas of diarrhea. He, too, suffered from the disease and blamed it on the poor water at Camp Irwin. When he sold his rifle for forty silver dollars, he bought milk from a woman nearby. Coggeshall remembered that he loaned out thirty of his forty dollars to comrades in the regiment because “the boys were all out of money . . . and it did them a lot of good for they were verry tired of government food and some were sick like myself.” He asserted that this milk saved his life.⁴⁶ In October, the colonel of the 13th Wisconsin sent a report to General Sheridan stating that there was a medicine shortage, requiring the men to pay out of their own pockets. Blessedly, by mid-October he stated that the “health of the

⁴³ George Parsons to Amos Parsons, July 13, 1865; George Parsons to Benjamin Parsons, September 14, 1865, George W. Parsons Collection (Indiana Historical Society, Indianapolis, Indiana). Hereinafter cited as Parsons Collection.

⁴⁴ John S. McGraw to Wife, August 27, 1865, John S. McGraw Collection (Indiana Historical Society, Indianapolis, Indiana). Hereinafter cited as McGraw Collection.

⁴⁵ John S. McGraw to Wife, October 15, 1865, *ibid.*

⁴⁶ Coggeshall, *Civil War Memoirs*, 60.

regiment is improving and we are in better spirits too.” By the nineteenth, he described their camp in San Antonio as “the healthiest place I have seen in Texas.”⁴⁷

Food is always an important issue for soldiers in wartime and peacetime. For those of the Fourth and Thirteenth Army Corps especially, lack of food was something they had endured during the war. However, these volunteers certainly expected the army to adequately feed them while in Texas, but this was not always the case. The government’s inability to consistently and properly feed the men directly affected how they did their duty, causing some to wonder why they should continue serving when the army would not feed them.

When the Fourth Corps was at Green Lake, one soldier in the 13th Wisconsin complained that the commissaries were “unable to haul [food] up here with what teams they can hire, all the U.S. mules and horses have died.” He also wrote that their hardtack was old and full of worms.⁴⁸ Another Badger in the 13th asserted that they had only twice drawn potatoes or onions since leaving New Orleans, although they were being issued fresh beef while at Green Lake.⁴⁹ Others’ diets had more variety. Some Buckeyes reported eating corn, chicken, and watermelon due to the kindness of some haciendas ten miles from the lake.⁵⁰ Even David Hulburt, of the 13th Wisconsin,

⁴⁷ David Hulburt to Sister Mary, October 1; David Hulburt to Sister Hannah, October 11, 1865; David Hulburt to Brother Erastus, October 19, 1865, Hulburt Letters.

⁴⁸ David Hulburt to Sister Mary, August 13, 1865, *ibid*.

⁴⁹ Anonymous letter to unknown newspaper dated September 11, 1865, clipping placed after the September 8, 1865, letter in the Hulburt Letters.

⁵⁰ Alexis Cope, *The Fifteenth Ohio Volunteers and Its Campaigns, War of 1861-1865* (Columbus, Ohio: Edward T. Miller, Co., 1916), 759; William Helsley to Mary, July 17, 1865, William J. and Mary

recorded in his letters that he was able to obtain some melon occasionally at Green Lake.⁵¹

Difficulties in obtaining rations did not end at Green Lake or with the Fourth Corps. In a report to Sheridan in early October, the colonel of the 13th Wisconsin complained that the “rations have been short, Our Hardtack has nearly all been wormy and buggy, and by the marks on the boxes, has been once condemned.”⁵² Thirty members of the 3rd Michigan Cavalry protested against their poor rations by refusing to drill and were arrested. When asked to explain themselves, the Michiganders replied it was because “they did Receive half Rations and they did not think it their duty to drill and refused.” General West, their division commander released the men and “after that [the] Rations were better and more of them.”⁵³ The 35th Wisconsin also had problems with food while stationed along the Rio Grande. Ferdinand Kurz described the months of July, August, and September as “distressing days.” Along with the oppressive heat, swarming mosquitoes, difficulty sleeping, was the bad food. Kurz remembered that “[o]ur rations were often very bad—rotten, mouldy crackers and nothing fresh so that many got the scurvy.”⁵⁴

Helsley Papers (Rare Book, Manuscript, and Special Collections Library, Duke University, Durham, North Carolina).

⁵¹ David Hulburt to Brother Marvin, July 24, 1865, Hulburt Letters.

⁵² David Hulburt to Sister Mary, October 1, 1865, *ibid.*

⁵³ Chadwick Diary, 44-45.

⁵⁴ Ferdinand Kurz, “Ferdinand Kurz Reminiscences” (copy at Wisconsin Historical Society, Madison Wisconsin), 33.

Food shortages were not endemic through all of Texas. In November 1865, the surgeon of the 4th Michigan Infantry enjoyed his cook's sweet potato dishes, light bread, beef steak, apple pie, and rice pudding.⁵⁵ Sergeant Thomas Brown wrote in March 1866 that he enjoyed a cornucopia of berries and "everything nice that grows in a garden."⁵⁶ Sergeant Henry Ketzle remembered that the 37th Illinois led a easy life, which "somewhat compensated us for our prolonged service . . . Sweet potatoes and all other eatables of southern climes were every morning abundant in camp, just as if they rained down during the night."⁵⁷ For the short time that the 125th Ohio was in the Port Lavaca area, its members had access to melons, fish, sweet potatoes, and oysters.⁵⁸ The 3rd Michigan Cavalry obtained milk by tying up goats and milking them. Most companies tied up fifteen to twenty goats for that purpose.⁵⁹ Having some dietary variation helped to make service in Texas pass a little better.

Unlike during the war, where the marching and fighting were reminders of why the Westerners enlisted and their responsibility as soldiers, there was often little to do in postwar Texas beside wait for orders to discharge. Captain Thomas Stevens asked his wife in late July "[w]hat shall I write about this morning? I hardly know for we have nothing going on here to write or think about—it is so *monotonous*—no change of any

⁵⁵ Joseph to Hattie, November 24, 1865, Griswold Family Papers, 1837-1915 (Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan).

⁵⁶ Brown, *Tom Brown "Soger Boy,"* 182.

⁵⁷ Henry Ketzle, *History of Co. A, 37th Illinois Volunteer Infantry*, ed. Eleanor Ketzle Grimm, Marguerite Ketzle Neemans (Santa Rosa, CA: H.B. Ketzle, 1992), 25.

⁵⁸ Clark, *Opdycke Tigers*, 403, 407, 408.

⁵⁹ Chadwick Diary, 94.

kind—no excitement.”⁶⁰ In September 1865, George Parsons apologized in a letter that he was “at a loss to know what to write about in fact there is nothing to write about that will interest you.” At Camp Irwin, “there is nothing going on and nothing to be seen in or out of camp[;] it is just the Kind of a place to give a Soldier the Blues and I guess that I have got them in the worst form.”⁶¹ Because the rigors of camp life, such as drill, parade, and guard duty, were not done as extensively, the men had plenty of free time. As such, they were forced to entertain themselves many times.

Rather than sit in camp and complain, lowering morale and undermining their units’ military effectiveness, the volunteers found ways to occupy their time. The 125th Ohio entertained itself with a variety of different games, including board games and cards. According to the regimental historian, they were reduced to playing marbles.⁶² That there may not have been a strained relationship between noncommissioned officers and privates is demonstrated when Private Brooks dumped a pail of water on Sergeant Mansfield of the 3rd Michigan Cavalry. Mansfield got his revenge by throwing Brooks in a nearby river, but “in the fracas went in with him.”⁶³ In October, David Hulburt recorded that “[t]here is a great deal of ball playing now[.] Wicket and Bass practiced the most—The boys are feeling better, gaining all the time.”⁶⁴ By late January 1866, the 3rd Michigan Cavalry began to play baseball. They played the 18th New York Cavalry,

⁶⁰ Thomas N. Stevens, “*Dear Carrie*,” . . . *The Civil War Letters of Thomas N. Stevens*, ed. George M. Blackburn (Mount Pleasant, Mich.: Central Michigan University, 1984), 335, 338-339.

⁶¹ George W. Parsons to Benjamin Parsons, September 14, 1865, Parsons Collection.

⁶² Clark, *Opdycke Tigers 125 O.V.I.*, 401, 407.

⁶³ Chadwick Diary, 82.

⁶⁴ David Hulburt to Brother Erastus, October 19, 1865, Hulburt Letters.

but as so often happens to baseball teams that play Yankees from New York, the 3rd was “Badly beaten owing to our boys not understanding the Game as well as they did.”⁶⁵

Despite how the food may have improved or how many games of baseball played, one constant during the men’s time in postwar Texas was loneliness and an intense desire to go home. Married men were especially affected by their peculiar situation. Two such examples were Captain John McGraw of the 57th Indiana and Colonel Ephraim Holloway of the 41st Ohio. In nearly every letter to his wife, McGraw lamented how much he missed her and longed for home. He yearned to be “at home once more to spend my time with the company of my family and to know that I could stay there as long as I chose and not be compelled to go back to the army.”⁶⁶

Nevertheless, McGraw would not resign his position to come home because he would lose three month’s worth of pay and did not want to be accused of abandoning his regiment in Texas.⁶⁷ When Colonel Ephraim Holloway’s property, all nine hundred dollars worth, sank with the steamship near Cairo, Illinois, he missed “more than enything [his wife’s] photographs and those of my children. They were my greatest comfort.”⁶⁸ In September, Holloway informed his son that he “pass[ed] many sleepless

⁶⁵ Chadwick Diary, 95, 99-100.

⁶⁶ John S. McGraw to Rebecca, July 26, 1865, McGraw Collection.

⁶⁷ John S. McGraw to Wife, October 1, 1865 and October 15, 1865, *ibid*.

⁶⁸ Ephraim Holloway to Wife, June 27, 1865, Holloway Papers.

nights thinking of you. Believe me dear son that you consume a large share of my thoughts.”⁶⁹

Closely related to married men missing their families was the desire for mail, which came irregularly for those serving in Texas. David Wood, of the 13th Wisconsin, wrote that “mail is not received regularly here, and when it does reach us it is the center of attraction for a crowd.”⁷⁰ In October, Wood wrote that mail left every two days, but they received it “very irregularly; sometimes two or three days apart and sometimes ten.”⁷¹ Understandably, the issue of receiving mail promptly and frequently affected morale. William McConnell, of the 15th Ohio, confessed in his diary that he “[e]xpected mail that night [July 24]—got but little mail. Oh, how disappointed I was for not getting a letter.”⁷² Lieutenant Mark Morris was more direct when he wrote to his aunt, telling her to “write some Day before I get home or I won’t Do this any more.”⁷³

The issue of receiving mail was important, but the government may have been at fault for its slow distribution. The 3rd Michigan Cavalry received mail on December 29, but Elihu Chadwick did not “see why our mail is so irregular.”⁷⁴ The 125th Ohio may

⁶⁹ Ephraim Holloway to John Holloway, September 1, 1865, *ibid.*

⁷⁰ David Holton Wood to Hattie Sanborn, August 8, 1865, “Letters Written During the Civil War by David Holton Wood to His Cousin, Hattie Sanborn,” ed. Nancy C. Crerar, *David Holton Wood Papers, 1862-1917* (Wisconsin Historical Society, Madison, Wisconsin).

⁷¹ David Holton Wood to Hattie Sanborn, October 26, 1865, *ibid.*

⁷² William McConnell, *Diary of William McConnell, Private Co. I, 15th O.V.V.I. 1st Brigade, 3rd Division, 4th Army Corps, Army of the Cumberland. Also a Brief Record of Auburn Township and Tiro, Ohio* (Tiro, Ohio: Charles McConnell, 1899), 145

⁷³ Mark Morris to Mary J. Manlove, November 10, 1856, *Morris Papers*.

⁷⁴ Chadwick Diary, 65.

have discovered the reason. In early September, the regiment received “[t]hat long delayed mail . . . Almost everybody received one of two letters, but we are sure many more are lodged somewhere en route.” When the 125th was finally discharged and passed through New Orleans in early October, some members located a warehouse containing Fourth Corps mail. The regiment’s “postmaster has been searching the mass for letters addressed to the 125th, and brought in a large number, but thinks there are ten times as many.”⁷⁵ If this was indicative of all units in Texas, that New Orleans was a major bottleneck for mail, then the men had even more reasons to be frustrated with the government for compelling them to go to Texas but not properly supporting them.

Problems such as preventing epidemics, obtaining rations, and fighting boredom are common problems during any war. For all the soldiers experienced during the Civil War, they did not need reminders of why they enlisted and generally tolerated the hardships of their wartime service. When the infantrymen and cavalrymen were sent to Texas after the war, problems such as disease, lack of food, and boredom became worse because the reasons they initially joined the army, mainly to preserve the Union, ceased to exist. Without that reason, it became difficult for the Westerners to persevere through the difficulties and fulfill their obligations as enlisted soldiers to the government. That they did, despite the continued deprivations in occupation Texas as shown above, shows that the men relied on their sense of duty. Nevertheless, it is not unreasonable to expect that soldiers would not always act as professionally or honorably as they should have during their occupation duty, inexcusable as their actions might have been.

⁷⁵ Clark, *Opdycke Tigers*, 407, 417.

The officers well knew that they would have to maintain discipline while in Texas and the army naturally expected the soldiers to maintain an adequate level of military order and control. As seen in the mutinous behavior of the 15th Ohio before its march to San Antonio in early August, this was not always so easy. The tension between the volunteers and the army manifested itself in the discipline problems that occurred, in the conflicts that occurred between the frustrated soldiers and the military. Problems ranged from too much access to alcohol to desertion to outright mutiny, but much of it was against the military and its system. However, in many situations, the men, as citizen soldiers, did not react from a lack of duty but from frustration at being retained in service. Therefore, despite the struggle in maintaining discipline, Captain Alexis Cope was correct to marvel not that there were as many discipline troubles as there were, but that the men “were so patient through it all.”⁷⁶

Officers observed that discipline and morale were slipping. One infantry lieutenant confessed in September that “discipline of the command is at a low ebb.”⁷⁷ In late January 1866, when the war had been over for nine months, a lieutenant of the 12th Illinois Cavalry noted that “the old bugle hurrys up the boys occasionally, but they do not care to obey its calls as in times of active service. They think many of the calls entirely unnecessary.”⁷⁸

⁷⁶ Cope, *Fifteenth Ohio Volunteers*, 787.

⁷⁷ Chesley Mosman, *The Rough Side of War: The Civil War Journal of Chesley Mosman, 1st Lieutenant, Company D, 59th Illinois Volunteer Infantry Regiment*, ed. Arnold Gates (Garden City, N.Y.: Basin Publishing, Co., 1987), 384.

⁷⁸ William Redman to Sister Emma, January 21, 1866, Papers of William Henry Redman, 1859-1897 (University of Virginia Library, Charlottesville, Virginia). Hereinafter cited as Redman Papers.

Regimental commanders worked hard to stymie any erosion of military discipline. Some wrote orders that forbade certain activities. For example, two regiments along the Rio Grande issued orders forbidding soldiers from wearing civilian clothing.⁷⁹ While in Austin, the 7th Indiana Cavalry was ordered to cease “the practice of running and racing Government horses.” Such activity required permission from regimental headquarters.⁸⁰ Other regiments encouraged good behavior through reward. For instance, Sergeant Lewis Hollingsworth and Private Silas Dark were given three-day passes to San Antonio for having the cleanest rifles in the 31st Indiana.⁸¹ In November, 10 percent of the 15th Ohio received daily passes to go into San Antonio.⁸²

An excellent indicator of discipline is what types of courts martial were held in Texas. Regimental documents as well as Department of Texas records reveal that the majority of such trials due to breaches of military protocol, not infractions against the civilian population.⁸³ Nine regimental records and three departmental files revealed

⁷⁹ General Order, no. 1, Capt. W. S. Pollard, July 27, 1865, “24th Indiana Infantry Regimental Order Book,” vol. 4; General Order, no. 32, Lt. Col. R. G. Morrison, September 18, 1865, “77th Ohio Infantry Regimental Order Book and Guard Report Book,” vol. 5, Adjutant General’s Office, Record Group 94 (National Archives).

⁸⁰ General Orders, no. 2, Lt. Col. Thomas Browne, November 15, 1865, “7th Indiana Cavalry Order Books, Companies A-E,” vol. 2, Adjutant General’s Office, Record Group 94 (National Archives).

⁸¹ Special Order, no. 22, Col. Thomas E. Rose, August 15, 1865, “31st Indiana Infantry Regimental Order and Courts-Martial Book,” vol. 4, Adjutant General’s Office, Record Group 94 (National Archives).

⁸² General Order, no. 17, Col. Frank Askew, November 8, 1865, “15th Ohio Infantry Regimental Consolidated Morning Reports, Letter, Order, Circular, and Endorsement Book,” vol. 4, Adjutant General’s Office, Record Group 94 (National Archives).

⁸³ Regimental records searched: “24th Indiana Infantry Regimental Order Book,” vol. 4; “34th Indiana Regimental Order Book,” vol. 4; “7th Indiana Cavalry Regimental Order and Guard Report Book,” vol. 4; “9th Indiana Infantry Order Books, Companies A to G, I to K,” vol. 4; “30th Indiana Infantry Regimental Letter, Order, and Journal Book,” vol. 3; “31st Indiana Infantry Regimental Order and Courts-Martial Book,” vol. 4; “32nd Indiana Infantry Order Books, Companies A to D,” vol. 3; “40th Indiana Infantry

sixty-seven men convicted or reduced in rank because of violating the *Articles of War*.

The most common problems were soldiers absent without leave and disobedience. Other common crimes were soldiers whose conduct was “prejudicial to good order and military discipline.” One officer was charged with that infraction for playing cards with enlisted personnel while on duty.⁸⁴ Only eight soldiers received charges relating to mutiny. There were only two soldiers charged with acts of violence. One was charged with assaulting his commanding officer, marauding, and disobedience. The other was charged with disobedience, disrespecting his superior officer, and assaulting his superior officer.⁸⁵ From the department and regimental documents reviewed, there was only one recorded example of soldiers explicitly committing a crime against civilians. In November, members of the 76th United States Colored Infantry, 49th Ohio, and 65th Ohio were charged with stealing wood from civilians.⁸⁶

These charges and courts martial point to specific problems with military discipline, that is, soldiers charged with violations against the *Articles of War*, but not

Order Books, Companies E to K,” vol. 6; “51st Indiana Infantry Order Books, Companies A to G, I to K,” vol. 4; “4th Michigan Infantry Order Book, Companies D, H, I,” vol. 3; “13th Ohio Infantry Regimental Descriptive, Letter, Order, Courts Martial, and Miscellaneous Book,” vol. 1, Adjutant General’s Office, Record Group 94 (National Archives). Department records searched: “General Orders, Circulars, General Court-Martial Orders, May 1865-August 1866,” Entry No. 4506; “Register of the Findings of Military Courts, July 1865-February 1866,” Entry No. 4550; “Register of the Charges and Specifications,” Entry No. 4553, Division of the Southwest and Department of the Gulf, 1865-1870, Record Group 393 (National Archives).

⁸⁴ Lieutenant Yarnell Milton tried on August 19, 1865, “Register of the Charges and Specifications,” Entry No. 4553, Division of the Southwest and Department of the Gulf, 1865-1870, Record Group 393 (National Archives).

⁸⁵ George Inish and William Jackson both tried on June 25, 1865, “Register of the Findings of Military Courts, July 1865-February 1866,” Entry No. 4550, Division of the Southwest and Department of the Gulf, 1865-1870, Record Group 393 (National Archives).

⁸⁶ *Ibid.* It is not recorded how many were charged with this offense.

with crimes against Texans. That more soldiers were disobedient, absent without leave, or had conduct prejudicial to good order and military discipline shows that mutinies were either quickly quashed or the men generally did not rebel against their officers for being in Texas. To be sure, mutinies were not nonexistent, just uncommon. Table 4.1 below shows what types of crimes were committed. The most important concern became maintaining military order and protocol, but the few mutinies that took place also merit attention.

Table 4.1—Charges of Volunteer Soldiers

Disobedience	Disrespectful Speech	Drunkenness	Mutiny/Mutinous Conduct
13	6	4	8
Absent without leave	Desertion	Neglect of Duty	Worthlessness
17	6	3	1
Conduct Unbecoming a Soldier, NCO, or Officer	Larceny	Breaking Arrest	Conduct Prejudicial of Good Order and Military Discipline
4	3	1	9
Incompetence	Unsoldierly Conduct	Violence	Theft
3	2	4	2

Although officers attempted to keep order among their units in camp, provost marshals struggled to enforce good behavior in the towns and cities. One of the chief impediments was alcohol. San Antonio had several saloons and many soldiers

frequented them when possible. The newspapers mentioned several instances of drunken soldiers in town. The *Tri-Weekly Herald* reported in mid-September that a soldier, “getting exceedingly ‘riled’ on account of too much bad whisky . . . took a pop at a brother soldier.”⁸⁷ In February 1866, Colonel John Mizner ordered the closing of all bars and grocery stores in San Antonio because the men had just been paid. In the same edition, the paper reported that three drunken soldiers had severely assaulted a freedman and thanked a citizen for establishing a police force to assist military authorities in arresting inebriated soldiers.⁸⁸

Alcohol contributed to soldiers misbehaving elsewhere in Texas. The colonel of the 57th Indiana issued an order that targeted the distributors of Port Lavaca. Because some intoxicated soldiers had acted in a “riotous and disgraceful conduct,” anyone caught selling alcohol to the enlisted men could be fined, have his goods confiscated, or put to work on the railroad between Port Lavaca and Victoria. Alcohol was to be distributed only under the supervision of an officer and bars needed a regimental order written in red ink to sell alcohol.⁸⁹ To make his point, the provost marshal in Brownsville arrested civilians for selling liquor to soldiers.⁹⁰ In Galveston, a drunken trooper of the 18th New York Cavalry killed a Buckeye in the 48th Ohio who tried to

⁸⁷ *The Tri-Weekly Herald* (San Antonio), September 12, 1865.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, February 12, 1866.

⁸⁹ General Order, no. 4, Bvt. Col. J. Rowan Borne, November 14, 1865, “57th Indiana Regimental Letter, Order, and Guard Report Book,” vol. 4, Adjutant General’s Office, Record Group 94 (National Archives).

⁹⁰ Capt. Ira W. Evans to Lt. George Potwin, March 26, 1866 and March 29, 1866, “Letters Sent By the Provost Marshal,” Entry No. 2089, No. 115, Record Group 393 (National Archives).

convince an intoxicated friend to go to bed instead of another bar.⁹¹ Along the Rio Grande, two noncommissioned officers in the 34th Indiana were reduced to the ranks for crossing the border and getting drunk in Mexico.⁹²

Another major disciplinary issue was that of disrespect toward superior officers. It can be understandable that many enlisted men had grown weary of the military hierarchy; most chafed under it the longer they were in Texas. As documented earlier, the cavalry led by General George Custer greatly resented his leadership. The regimental histories of the 7th Indiana and 2nd Wisconsin Cavalry regiments reflect this anger. Their regimental histories indicated that they did not understand or accept the reasons for being in Texas. This resentment made their time in Texas pass slowly.

However, these negative attitudes were not limited to just commanding generals. Elihu Chadwick had a strong disdain toward his brigade commander, Colonel John Mizner, who was originally his colonel. On January 29, Chadwick reported a rumor that Mizner had been shot. It was false, “but a great many of the boys Hoped it was true.”⁹³ Chadwick recorded earlier that the regiment had lost respect for Mizner and were shouting at him whenever he passed through the camp.⁹⁴ After one episode in mid-August, Mizner assembled the regiment before his headquarters and threatened

⁹¹ N. C. Kendall, *Reminiscences of the Closing Scenes of the Great American Rebellion* (In the field: Sergt. N. C. Kendall, no date [1866?]), 113.

⁹² Special Field Orders, no. 1 Brig. Gen. E.B. Brown, June 3, 1865; Special Orders, no. 6, Major Nimrod Headington, June 30, 1865; Special Orders, no. 196 and 197, Major Nimrod Headington, June 10, 1865, “34th Indiana Regimental Letter, Order, and Guard Report Book,” vol. 4, Adjutant General’s Office, Record Group 94 (National Archives).

⁹³ Chadwick Diary, 101.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 42-43.

punishment if the insubordination continued. That night, when the shouting continued after the final bugle call, the major, who was more respected, “talked pleasantly to the men and after this no more was heard.”⁹⁵ This episode demonstrated the effectiveness of good leadership in the midst of hardship and low morale.

The cavalry was not solely guilty of such acts of insubordination. Orders were issued in the 13th Ohio against “[t]he procedure by many men in this command of insulting officers by hallowing, hooting, whistling &c. as they pass among the troops.” Their colonel called it unmanly and cowardly because it “strikes at the root of all discipline.” Men so caught would be punished and if the offenders could not be found, the whole command would do extra fatigue duty or drill.⁹⁶ In a very brief diary entry in mid-September, William Harts of the 49th Ohio wrote: “Quite warm[,] the boys stoned the officer of the day last night.” Whether this was vented anger or mischief is not clear, but was probably the former.

Captain Alexis Cope based his regimental history of the 15th Ohio on several enlisted men’s diaries, mentioning several troubles with officers, and methods used by the men to vent their frustration. One drunken soldier cursed General Stanley as he passed. Stanley arrested the man on sight and took him to the nearest guardhouse. On another occasion, the men got a stray mule, “and placed on it a figure to represent a drunken officer, and drove it through camp, followed by a crowd of jeering soldiers.” In noting his use of a first sergeant’s diary, Cope wrote that the sergeant gave “expression

⁹⁵ Ibid., 43-44.

⁹⁶ General Orders, no. 21, Col. J. W. Hall, September 24, 1865, “13th Ohio Infantry Regimental Descriptive, Letter, Order, Courts Martial and Miscellaneous Book,” vol. 1, Adjutant General’s Office, Record Group 94 (National Archives).

to the general feeling of discontent. All wanted to go home and some were afflicted with that terrible camp malady, home sickness.”⁹⁷

The most clear and direct expressions of soldiers’ frustrations were mutinies. According to Article 7 of the *Articles of War*, any officer or soldier guilty of “begin[ning], excit[ing], caus[ing], or join[ing] in any mutiny or sedition” would suffer death.⁹⁸ This article made no differentiation between wartime or peacetime nor between soldiers or volunteers, probably accounting for why there were so few mutinies in Texas. The two most notable attempts are worthy of examination. What is important about these mutinies are the dates when they occurred, what the men wanted, and how they tried to obtain it.⁹⁹

The first such mutiny occurred on New Year’s Eve in San Antonio with the 3rd Michigan Cavalry. Elihu Chadwick recorded how it unfolded. On December 30, when some Wolverines reported for guard duty, “looking rather slouchy,” an order came down that “every man must have his Clothes and Boots Brushed to morrow morning at General Inspection and Muster.” That night there was a meeting among the boys “to see

⁹⁷ Cope, *Fifteenth Ohio Volunteers*, 786.

⁹⁸ United States War Department, *Revised United States Army Regulations of 1861, with an Appendix Containing the Changes and Laws Affecting Army Regulations and Articles of War to June 25, 1863* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1863), 486.

⁹⁹ These mutinies, as will be discussed, were with the 3rd Michigan Cavalry and the 48th Ohio. In early March 1866, there was a mutiny in Company F, 12th Illinois Cavalry in Houston, but it does not appear to have been a major event, although the company was disarmed, dismounted, and arrested. The unit’s modern day regimental historian either could not find enough information or did not see much importance to give it great detail. Even Captain William Redman of Company C did not regard it as much as he only mentioned it in passing in a letter home. According to the historian, nine men in the company deserted and one committed suicide. Samuel M. Blackwell, *The Twelfth Illinois Cavalry and Cavalry Operations in the Civil War and Reconstruction* (Ph.D. diss, Northern Illinois University, 1995), 412-3; Samuel M. Blackwell, Jr. *In the First Line of Battle: The 12th Illinois Cavalry in the Civil War* (Dekalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 2002), 170; William Redman to Brother Nelson, March 15, 1866, Redman Papers.

if they cannot devise some means or plan whereby we can get out of the Service.” The next day, during the inspection, Major James Butler ordered the company commander to arrest four men with poor appearance. The detail appointed by the captain refused to comply. Butler called the sergeant of the guard and his detail but when the major ordered the sergeant to arrest the four men “for not having their boots blacked,” the sergeant and his detail joined the dissenters. From there, tensions escalated to near bloodshed.¹⁰⁰

The major commanding was understandably upset at this breach of discipline. He went to the commanders of the 3rd and 4th Michigan Infantry Regiments for assistance but was denied because the respective commanders knew their own men would not arrest their fellow Michiganders. Butler gathered 50 men from the 4th U.S. Cavalry to make the proper arrests. This step upset the Wolverines because “the men swore that no Regular could arrest them,” and rushed to arm themselves. Consequently, General Thompson, who had only observed that the 3rd was mutinying, brought in the 18th New York Cavalry, who gave cartridges to the Michigan cavalymen in an act of solidarity. At this point, when a fight seemed imminent over the matter of four men’s poor appearance, a captain in the 3rd rode to the general and told him what had precipitated the whole matter. Wisely and with discretion, the general spoke to the troopers of the 3rd and “told them if they would comply with his order, he would make it

¹⁰⁰ Chadwick Diary, 70, 71.

satisfactory.” The 4th U.S. and 18th New York Cavalry regiments were ordered to return to their camps and the 3rd was soon disarmed.¹⁰¹

The next day, January 1, 1866, the officers were upset but the enlisted men were quite pleased with themselves. Chadwick, for one, did not mind receiving a dishonorable discharge that would “free me from this Monarchy that we have been living under for the last five Months . . . for we have soldiered long enough.”¹⁰² Despite how excited the men felt at this display of agency, there was still a piper to pay. On January 16, Mizner wrote that “the opposition offered by some of the men to the authority of their officers evinced such a degree of recklessness and disregard for law and order as to merit the severest punishment.”¹⁰³

The 3rd Michigan Cavalry woke up on January 3 to find their camp surrounded by the 4th U.S. Cavalry and 18th New York Cavalry, fully armed to encounter resistance. Ninety-five men were peacefully arrested, including twenty-eight noncommissioned officers who were reduced to the ranks on January 6. All were charged under Article 7 of the *Articles of War*.¹⁰⁴ When Sidney Herriman reflected on the month of January, he wrote that the arrests were “unreasonable” and that “five noncommissioned officers [of

¹⁰¹ Ibid., 71-74.

¹⁰² Ibid., 76.

¹⁰³ General Orders, no. 3, Brig. Gen. J. K. Mizner, January 16, 1866, “3rd Michigan Cavalry Regimental Letter, Endorsement, and Order Book,” vol. 4, Adjutant General’s Office, Record Group 94 (National Archives).

¹⁰⁴ Chadwick Diary, 77-78; General Orders, no. 59, Major James Butler, January 6, 1866, “3rd Michigan Cavalry Regimental Letter, Endorsement, and Order Book,” vol. 4, Adjutant General’s Office, Record Group 94 (National Archives).

Company H] were arrested that had nothing to do with the movement of Dec. 31st . . . while many that took the lead were undisturbed[. S]uch are our officers.”¹⁰⁵

On the ninth, the trial began. The regiment pooled its resources and hired a lawyer for \$3,000 to defend the accused. The trial was still proceeding on January 31 when the regiment received news it was to be discharged, and the requisite rolls finished by mid-February, surely adding great hardship for those on trial. Chadwick wrote that on February 11, the trial was ended and the prisoners were released. The “mutineers” received cheers upon entering camp and “the boys are having a stag dance and feeling gay over the prospects before them.” The next day, the regiment was fully discharged.¹⁰⁶

The second mutiny occurred in March 1866 by the 48th Ohio Infantry Battalion in Galveston. Not as much is written about this as the 3rd Michigan nor was it as explosive. The battalion was a consolidation of the 48th, 83rd, and the 114th Ohio Regiments. Historian William Richter records that by February 1866, morale was low enough to warrant constant drilling. In mid-March, the regiment stacked arms and refused to do any more. According to one newspaper source, the colonel and sixty men were arrested. Grant moved on their behalf and ordered the regiment to be honorably discharged and sent home.¹⁰⁷ In a letter dated the twenty-second, Wright wrote to

¹⁰⁵ Diary entry January 31, Sidney H. Herriman Diary, 1865-1866 (Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan).

¹⁰⁶ Chadwick Diary, 87, 104, 111-112.

¹⁰⁷ William Richter, *The Army in Texas During Reconstruction, 1865-1870* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1987), 25; Richter, “The Army in Texas During Reconstruction,” 39-40; *New York Times*, March 24, 1866.

Sheridan that three companies, numbering about forty-five men, stacked their arms, “claiming their right to be mustered out of service on the ground that the war for which they enlisted was at an end.”¹⁰⁸

To the Ohioans’ credit, they offered no resistance, “and indeed throughout the affair, they were guilty of no misconduct beyond the refusal to do duty.” On the twenty-first, the men “presented to their officers a paper begging in the most humble manner to be returned to duty and promising good conduct in future, all but five of them were released.” Wright accepted their repentance and anticipated no further resistance from the battalion. This gave Wright an opportunity to remind Sheridan of the “general feeling of dissatisfaction that prevails amongst the volunteers[.] White troops serving in Texas, in consequence of their retention after the muster out of so large a portion of their comrades.” Wright emphasized the need to replace them with regulars as soon as possible.¹⁰⁹

Analyzing these mutinies reveals that the objective was to make officers aware that the men wearied of being in Texas and in the army. Both of these mutinies occurred late in 1865 or early in 1866, and the timing of these dates are important. In the case of the 48th Ohio, the battalion mutinied almost a full year after Lee’s surrender. It would have been different if regiments mutinied in September or October, but most regiments did their duty, however reluctantly. These soldiers expressed their frustration through other means but they did not resort to mutinying against the military authorities. That

¹⁰⁸ Wright to Bvt. Col. George S. Hartsuff, March 22, 1866, *Letters Sent by the Department of Texas, the District of Texas, and the Fifth Military District, 1856-1858 and 1865-1870*, Microfilm Publication M1165, Reel 1, Record Group 393 (Washington: National Archives, 1981).

¹⁰⁹ Ibid.

more regiments did not go as far as the 3rd Michigan Cavalry or the 48th Ohio is impressive.

The men were reluctant to be in Texas, but most did their job dutifully. Indeed, the soldiers in Texas did act dishonorably at times without excuse or justification, such as shouting and hooting at officers, and undermined their military effectiveness. Yet understanding what motivated their actions helps to explain why they acted in such a way. Again, Texan-soldier relations and unit location carries some weight here as well. The troops' desire to go home explains most, if not all, this frustration of being in Texas and in the army. Certain factors either curbed or augmented this frustration. Depending on if they understood why they were in Texas, and agreed with those reasons, the volunteers could tolerate the occupation duty. The conditions of their postwar service, that is, the health of the regiment, quality and quantity of food, and the degree of loneliness and homesickness, all influenced how they did their job—whether wholeheartedly or reluctantly. The government's failure to properly support the occupation, especially with adequate rations, medicine, and mail distribution made it harder for the men to properly do what was expected of them.

Units' morale was manifested by discipline. For instance, most discipline problems were not against citizens but against the military hierarchy. This does not suggest a systemic problem, only that the volunteers saw the military "system" as the cause of their suffering, because the "system" kept them in Texas. That there were tensions with officers and maintaining the proper respect and control further demonstrates that the troops saw the military as the root cause for being in Texas, not

their duty or the people. However, when alcohol was thrown in with the peacetime occupation force, order eroded. The military hierarchy made it difficult for the men to fulfill their obligations when they had no desire to be in the military anymore. Ultimately, the Westerners were dutiful and did their job to the last, which is highly commendable given what many went through in Texas. There was great dissatisfaction and there were troubles, but the volunteers did what the government asked of them.

Eventually, the cavalry and the infantry of the Fourth and Thirteenth Army Corps were finally able to come home. As a poet on General Stanley's staff summarized their outlook: "Then welcome to your homes/Where prouder none shall be:/Where none who with more honor comes,/To glory that he's free."¹¹⁰

¹¹⁰ Kendall, *Reminiscences of the Closing Scenes of the Great American Rebellion*, 36.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION: GETTING OUT OF THE STATE

The constant rumors of mustering out created a vicious cycle, raising the men's hopes of going home, and then dashing them when the volunteers realized that the scuttlebutt was untrue. Finally, that much anticipated day arrived. In many cases, the relief came just in time, considering how low morale had sunk. Sergeant Major William Hartpence remembered that the officers of the 51st Indiana used various methods "to prevent insubordination, and to relieve the dreadful pressure that seemed about to find vent in some sort of folly."¹ Most soldiers realized that "Good and Bad we have had in Texas, but no one wants to continue being a soldier even though we were volunteers."² Mustering out did not come fast enough for one Wisconsin veteran in mid-November whose dying words reportedly were "Have they got the rolls most done?"³

In accord with the volunteers' pervasive frustration of being in Texas for months after the Civil War was their equally pervasive excitement when they received orders to muster out. The sutler for the 10th Illinois Cavalry opened four barrels of whiskey when the 2nd Illinois, 10th Illinois, and 4th Wisconsin Cavalry regiments received their orders to discharge. Not surprisingly, "[t]in cups, camp-kettles, canteens, and every liquid holding thing was used for its distribution . . . Men indulged who never tasted the stuff

¹ William R. Hartpence, *History of the Fifty-First Indiana Veteran Volunteer Infantry: A Narrative of Its Organization, Marches, Battles, and Other Experiences in Camp and Prison, From 1861-1866* (Cincinnati: Robert Clarke Co., 1894), 351.

² Ferdinand Kurz, "Ferdinand Kurz Reminiscences" (copy at Wisconsin Historical Society, Madison Wisconsin), 35.

³ David Hulburt to Brother Marvin, November 10, 1865, David S. Hulburt Civil War Letters, 1862-1865 (Wisconsin Historical Society, Madison, Wisconsin). Hereinafter cited as Hulburt Letters.

before; and, strange to say, the whole thing took the form of a good natured frolic.”⁴

When the 19th Ohio mustered out in mid-October, the colonel of the 41st Ohio complained that his unit was three days older than the 19th. Four days later, there was “Joy upon joys in the Regt.” when the 41st received orders to muster out immediately.⁵ As the 57th Indiana filled out its rolls in early December, Captain John McGraw facetiously wrote to his wife that “it will be pretty hard on us Southerners to Come up into your Northern Climate at this time of year but I guess that we will try it.”⁶

Captain William Redman of the 12th Illinois Cavalry described the process of mustering out as time consuming, allowing him “no time to write letters or do anything but attend to making out those [rolls] of my Company.” The process required that the rolls “give a full history of each man since he entered the Service. So it requires much time and patience in searching old records of the Company as some of the Company enlisted so far back as in November 1861—before I joined the Company.”⁷ The rolls had to be accurate and caused frustration when the mustering officer called for revisions or rewrites.⁸

There did exist a small minority of soldiers who decided to stay in Texas after their discharge. David Hulburt commented in October that it was not uncommon for

⁴ Samuel H. Fletcher, *The History of Company A, Second Illinois Cavalry* (n.p., 1912), 168.

⁵ Diary entry October 16, 1865, Diary of Gen. E. S. Holloway, 1865, Ephraim S. Holloway Papers (Ohio Historical Society, Columbus, Ohio).

⁶ John S. McGraw to Wife, December 4, 1865, John S. McGraw Collection (Indiana Historical Society, Indianapolis, Indiana).

⁷ William Redman to Mother, May 20, 1866, Papers of William Henry Redman, 1859-1897 (University of Virginia Library, Charlottesville, Virginia). Hereinafter cited as Redman Papers.

⁸ David Hulburt to Mother, November 26, 1865, Hulburt Letters.

officers to inquire into land prices.⁹ Colonel Holloway wrote to his wife about plans to form a colony in Texas of five hundred men from the 41st Ohio with their families.¹⁰ Elihu Chadwick also wrote that several men in the 3rd Michigan Cavalry considered staying in Texas when they were mustered out, because they “think they will miss it not having trades to work at as the time of speculation has passed.”¹¹ In his memoirs, Corporal Lewis Dougherty wrote that he stayed behind to work as a sheep rancher for an ex-Confederate soldier until November 1866.¹² Sergeant Thomas Brown, of the 37th Illinois, returned to Texas soon after his discharge from the army in May 1866. Brown remained until 1869, observing the rise in violence and that “[t]here never has been a time (at least since the war) that so much crime was committed here in Texas.”¹³ It is worth noting that those who decided to remain in Texas were stationed in Central or East Texas, not along the border. Excepting Colonel Holloway, these were generally unmarried men with no urgent need to return home so quickly.

For the cavalry and the men of the Fourth Corps, the march to the main ports of departure, Galveston or Matagorda Bay, was radically different from the march to San Antonio for two reasons. One, the Westerners were on their way home, and, secondly,

⁹ David Hulburt to Brother Erastus, October 19, 1865, *ibid*.

¹⁰ Ephraim Holloway to Wife, September 30, 1865, Holloway Papers.

¹¹ Elihu P. Chadwick Diary, 1864-1866, 105 (Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan). Hereinafter referred to Chadwick Diary.

¹² Lewis Cass Dougherty, “Recollections of L. C. Dougherty,” L. C. Dougherty Papers (Illinois State Historical Society, Springfield, Illinois), 184-188.

¹³ Thomas Reeves Brown, *Tom Brown “Soger Boy”: 37th Illinois Veteran Volunteer Company K, 1861-1866: A Compilation of Thomas Reeves Brown’s Family Letters*, ed. David K. Brown and Betty McIntosh Loesch (Mercer Island, Wash.: David K. Brown, 1996), 192.

most soldiers left in November or December when the weather was much cooler than on their march to San Antonio. In Victoria, Elihu Chadwick “[h]ad a good meal of Ham and Eggs and all the Beer I could drink.” In Indianola, he slept in a real bed, something that “seemed quite natural.”¹⁴ As the 13th Wisconsin marched toward the coast, some of these “Brevet Citizens” straggled behind while others marched ahead of the column, impatient with the slow pace.¹⁵ Alexis Cope noted that no one in the 15th Ohio grumbled during the first day’s march of twenty-one miles. Instead, some men also ranged ahead of the column like their Wisconsin comrades.¹⁶

Upon reaching the coast, commanders had the challenge of obtaining transportation to New Orleans. One loaded steamer had room only for 400, yet the 150 men of the 65th Ohio and the 385 men of the 13th Wisconsin needed a ship. Neither regiment was willing to split up so the steamer took both regiments, and risked another *Sultana* disaster.¹⁷ Fortunately for these veterans, no such explosion occurred. The 15th Ohio awaited transportation in early December, braving a strong winter storm in the meantime. The regiment arranged with one boat captain to unload his cargo in exchange for transportation to New Orleans. By December 10, some in the 15th Ohio watched Texas dip below the horizon while others fought seasickness.¹⁸

¹⁴ Chadwick Diary, 115-116.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Alexis Cope, *The Fifteenth Ohio Volunteers and Its Campaigns, War of 1861-1865* (Columbus, Ohio: Edward T. Miller, Co., 1916), 789.

¹⁷ David Hulburt to Mother, November 26, 1865, Hulburt Letters.

¹⁸ Cope, *Fifteenth Ohio Volunteers*, 791-792.

The trip back to the North was not without incident. The officers on the steamship carrying the 125th Ohio would not permit the Buckeyes to pay for the private cabins, although most were empty. Some officers brought the sick “into their staterooms and had a war of words with the officers of the boat about it.” The boat also experienced a small explosion when a piston rod broke, slowing it down.¹⁹ Colonel John Mizner cleared his 3rd Michigan Cavalry from steamship cabins during its March 1866 trip. When the troopers transferred ships, a general permitted the cavalrymen to pay for cabins “as long as we conducted ourselves as gentlemen.” Apparently, “good conduct” included throwing hardtack at the blacks on the steamboat.²⁰

On the way to New Orleans, the 57th Indiana passed through a severe storm in a ship that was condemned when they arrived at the Crescent City.²¹ As the 31st Indiana and 59th Illinois steamed up the Mississippi River, the captain offered to pay anyone who would replenish the wood supply. According to the 59th’s regimental historian, both units volunteered. The soldiers did the work, but the boat captain did not pay them. When the captain asked for their help a second time, both units again did the work. When the captain reneged yet again, some soldiers threw cords of wood overboard in protest. The captain promptly paid the Hoosiers and Illini.²²

¹⁹ Clark, *Opdycke Tigers*, 418.

²⁰ Chadwick Diary, 121-122.

²¹ Alvarez B. Coggeshall, *Civil War Memoirs of Alvarez B. Coggeshall*, ed. Norman D. Coggeshall and Alice Coggeshall Houser (United States: A. B. Coggeshall, Sr., 1980), 60.

²² George Washington Herr, *Episodes of the Civil War, Nine Campaigns in Nine States: Fremont in Missouri—Curtis in Missouri and Arkansas—Halleck’s Siege of Corinth—Buell in Kentucky—Rosecrans in Kentucky and Tennessee—Grant at the Battle of Chattanooga—Sherman from Chattanooga to Atlanta—Thomas in Tennessee and North Carolina—Stanley in Texas. In Which is Comprised the History*

In late 1865 and early 1866, the Regular Army assumed more control over Reconstruction in Texas and the military occupation. Historian William Richter documents that, from July to October, 1865, twenty-one infantry and three cavalry regiments were discharged. In November and December, another twenty-six infantry and four cavalry regiments went home. In 1866, fifteen infantry and cavalry regiments were mustered out between January and May.²³ He estimates that 51,000 soldiers served in Texas in 1865 but this number fell to 4,900 in 1866, evenly spread out between the frontier, interior, and border. As the demands and needs of frontier duty and state Reconstruction changed, troop distribution also changed. By 1870, the end of Reconstruction in Texas, five hundred Regular Army soldiers were stationed between San Antonio and Waco, twelve hundred were along the Rio Grande, and three thousand were in the frontier.²⁴

Conclusion

In their works on the army during Reconstruction, historians Harry Pfanz and William Richter focus on the soldiers' misbehavior, but seem to forget the volunteers' status as citizen soldiers, not Regular soldiers. Pfanz argues that soldiers' behavior in the postwar South, at times, "was not always exemplary," and some soldiers "disgraced

of the Fifty-ninth Regiment of Illinois Veteran Volunteer Infantry—Together with Special Mention of the Various Regiments with which it was Brigaded from 1861 to 1865 (San Francisco: The Bancroft Company, 1890), 353.

²³ William Richter, *The Army in Texas During Reconstruction, 1865-1870* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1987), 26. These figures include non-Western regiments and other regiments were mustered out as late as 1867. Although he does not indicate what regiments stayed as late as 1867, they were not Western units.

²⁴ William Richter, "The Army in Texas During Reconstruction, 1865-1870," (Ph.D. Diss., Louisiana State University, 1970), 294.

their uniform and country.”²⁵ While Richter acknowledges the volunteers’ low morale and annoyance at being in Texas, he highlights their misdeeds and eroding discipline.

In contrast, Robert Shook argues that the army failed to effect true social and political change in Reconstruction Texas and states that this failure was due to the “extent of [the occupied] territory, inadequate communication and transportation facilities, and [the army’s] inherent opposition to the social goals of occupation.” In examining the occupation by the volunteers, Shook focuses on “insoluble logistical problems [that] made Texas Reconstruction . . . at best a necessary experiment.”²⁶ Shook indicates that there were factors affecting the soldiers, but the men had no control over them.

The logistical challenges have been shown clearly. However, it is stated further that many of the Western volunteers did not support the main social goals of Reconstruction or occupation. Many soldiers did not comment on the fact that they were breaking past tradition and precedence by militarily occupying the South. Curiously, most did not comment on the freedmen either, but they revealed their opposition to the social goals of occupation and Reconstruction whenever they did. Whereas many of these northern soldiers were against slavery, they were not social liberals. Sergeant Nathaniel Kendall was against slavery, but supported complete racial segregation, such as moving all blacks to Texas. Not surprisingly, he supported President Andrew

²⁵ Harry W. Pfanz, “Soldiering in the South During the Reconstruction Period, 1865-1877,” (Ph.D. diss., The Ohio State University, 1958), 98.

²⁶ Robert Walter Shook, “Federal Occupation and Administration of Texas, 1865-1870,” (Ph.D. diss., North Texas State University, 1970), 106, 492.

Johnson's 1865 veto of the extension of the Freedmen's Bureau.²⁷ During Lieutenant Edward Mann's ride into northeast Texas, he commented on how the blacks trusted the soldiers but not their former masters, although he was "no enthusiast about the negroe."²⁸ A fellow officer in the 12th Illinois Cavalry, Captain William Redman, elaborated on these thoughts when he voiced his staunch disagreement with black suffrage and "the fanatics of the North who were so fast for a Negro Soldiery." Like Sergeant Kendall, Redman saw America as "a White Man's Country."²⁹ In light of these men, Shook can effectively argue that social Reconstruction failed because the occupiers themselves never agreed with it.

Arguably, these views are representative of the soldiers from the Old Northwest, but present a problem because they are also the only substantive reflections of the freedmen among all the sources examined. Thusly, the reasons why the men did not write about the freedmen can only be speculated. To begin, the vast majority of the occupation force filtered in after General Granger's June 19 announcement that freed all slaves in Texas. Therefore, whatever the soldiers might have seen would not have been slavery itself, only its results. As the Fourth Corps, for example, moved into the interior of Texas, the soldiers' descriptions of the geography label it too barren to justify slavery, helping to explain why many from the Fourth Corps did not mention freedmen in their writings.

²⁷ N. C. Kendall, *Reminiscences of the Closing Scenes of the Great American Rebellion* (In the field: Sergt. N. C. Kendall, no date [1866?]), 69, 109.

²⁸ Edward Mann to Wife, December 2, 1865, Adolphus Skinner Hubbard Papers (Chicago Historical Society, Chicago, Ill.).

²⁹ William Redman to Sis Emeline, November 5, 1865, Redman Papers.

Similarly, many Union soldiers were stationed in areas that did not have high percentages of blacks, such as in San Antonio or along the Rio Grande. More soldiers in San Antonio commented on the Hispanic population rather than on the black population. For the high percentage of troops posted along the Rio Grande, the only blacks in the area were more likely colored soldiers than freedmen, and the presence of African-Americans in uniform surely ceased to elicit much excitement by 1865. Likewise, when the small detachment of 3rd Michigan Cavalry left for Sutherland Springs to support the Freedmen's Bureau in January 1866, Sydney Herriman recorded more about being off-duty than helping freedmen or controlling the populace. To that end, only Lieutenant Mann offered any significant insight into the plight of the freedmen through the eyes of a soldier from the Old Northwest.

Despite what Pfanz writes, many citizen soldiers were not concerned about disgracing their uniform or their country because the war was over. They simply desired to resume their former lives. Elements of Richter's and Shook's arguments, on the other hand, have merit.

In addition, Randolph Campbell concludes in his *Grass-Roots Reconstruction in Texas* that scholars should "be very careful in generalizing about events and developments from 1865 to 1880 . . . [because] Texas experienced Reconstruction very differently from county to county."³⁰ A similar conclusion can be drawn for the volunteers in the postwar state. As Campbell documents the guiding factors that

³⁰ Randolph B. Campbell, *Grass-Roots Reconstruction in Texas, 1865-1880* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1997), 220.

affected how Texans handled Reconstruction there were different reasons that affected how soldiers passed their time in occupation duty as well.

Much of the irritation of these nineteenth century Western soldiers' postwar service must be understood in light of the citizen soldier idea. The war was over. According to tradition, the army should allow the men to go home. However, the government found itself in a Catch-22 because it needed to occupy the South, yet the Regular Army was not sufficiently large enough to handle the task in 1865. In addition, the French Intervention in Mexico and lawlessness in Texas created greater urgency in the need for an occupation force in the Lone Star State. By doing so, it had to violate the principle of the citizen soldier, or at least delay it, long enough for the volunteers to be replaced by Regulars.

This delay explains much of the Westerners' frustration, low morale, misdeeds, and dishonorable actions, as Pfanz and Richter highlight. Additionally, these problems were exacerbated by the logistical difficulties that Shook describes. Given the nature of the military occupation, as Campbell suggests, much of the soldiers' experience also was in reaction to the behavior, attitudes, and actions of the occupied Texans. As has been shown these factors mixed to different degrees at various points within the state.

The first critical determinant that affected military occupation was location. This embodies several elements: unit station, unit role, and the Texans being occupied. As shown in Chapter Two, where the soldiers were posted was critical in understanding their frame of mind through much of their postwar occupation duty. The Fourth Army Corps and cavalry made rigorous marches in the heat of a Texas summer that drained

unit morale and, as shown in the 15th Ohio, affected discipline. Taking irritated infantrymen and ordering a thirty-mile march from Indianola to Green Lake put great physical demands on the Westerners. The overland marches from Green Lake, or from Louisiana for the cavalry, to San Antonio were more arduous than the march to Green Lake. Considering the men's frame of mind, it is natural that unit morale and discipline should suffer. This was especially so because many either did not understand why or agree with the reasons for being in Texas. In the case of the Thirteenth Corps, the situation was different. For the force that maneuvered along the Rio Grande, the regiments were stationary. Those bivouacked along the border may not have had the easiest life, but they did make forced marches. Those blessed enough to be stationed in Galveston and be billeted in hotels had little reason to complain.

The role of each unit was also important. The units in the interior were occupation garrisons, but those posted along the Rio Grande were a potential combat force, because of the French Intervention. Between handling filibusterers, Mexican bandits, and random shots with the French across the river, some of these soldiers had a more lively time than their counterparts further north. For others, the border duty was monotonous. Those units stationed near towns and cities, conversely, dealt more with the Texan population, handling paroles of ex-Confederate soldiers, and assisting civil governments and the Freedmen's Bureau. Regiments in rural places like Millican or Gonzales had different concerns than those on the Rio Grande, such as unrepentant ex-Confederate soldiers and sympathizers. Those stationed in San Antonio, Austin,

Galveston, or Houston often had little to do but wonder why they were in Texas and when they would go home.

Similar to unit role, were the attitudes and demographic composition of the occupied Texans. As shown in Chapter 3, this was important in making a volunteer's service in Texas go smoothly or problematically. Few northern soldiers remembered anything good about rural places like Gonzales or Millican. During their rides in East Texas, Lieutenant Edward Mann and General W. E. Strong wrote that rural Texans wanted the return of slavery. However, soldiers stationed in more urban areas, such as Houston, Austin, and Galveston experienced less resistance from citizens, primarily because the civilians' economic interests required national stability and a heavier concentration of Unionist Germans tolerated army occupation. On the extreme end of the social spectrum, the German residents of New Braunfels were receptive to the presence of the volunteers. As a result, garrison life in New Braunfels was better than in Gonzales, which experienced violence between the soldiers and civilians.

The citizens of rural Goliad, in Goliad County, also appeared to have had good relations with the soldiers stationed there. However, while Goliad appears to break the urban-rural mold, it is not imperative that all examples work in order to generalize about Texan-soldier relations. While this observation is on the basis of official records of the regiment stationed there, an examination of city and county records during the time of the Yankee occupation might shed light to support this view. Likewise, further research of city and county records where these soldiers were might help explain the nature of

civil-military relations, as well as this theory that urban areas generally had better relations than rural areas.

The second decisive component was the conditions that the soldiers endured. As documented in Chapter 4, how the citizen soldiers' time in Texas passed was largely due to elements out of their hands. Logistical support from the government was not always as reliable as it should have been, especially for a peacetime occupation. Obtaining adequate rations was a problem for those stationed in the interior, which sometimes required that the men slaughter a wandering bovine rather than go hungry. Medicine was not always replenished as fast as it should have been, and the sight of sick comrades and failing unit health certainly drained morale. Incoming mail was irregular, making homesickness as epidemic as disease. The government's inability to support adequately the occupation of Texas also helps to explain why the men might lash out or act disgracefully. It also helps to explain why most discipline problems were with maintaining military order. The Westerners were united in their attitudes and annoyances, and it was largely because of these factors, location and conditions, that determined how their time passed. The first year of Texas Reconstruction is best understood in terms of how the volunteers responded to these different elements.

This thesis, while documenting the use of the citizen-soldier as a postwar occupation force, shows early submissive and cooperative attitudes of most Southerners after the Civil War, especially those in a position of power. While historians debate on what degree of strength the government should have used on the postwar South, this thesis helps document southern submission, but also a resiliency. It shows the missed

opportunities by the government to more firmly take control. Whether the Federal government should have used that power, if it understood postwar southern attitudes is another discussion altogether.

More specifically, this thesis does not suggest a radical reinterpretation of the military in Reconstruction Texas but a nuanced understanding of its first year under the volunteers. It seeks to supplement Richter's and Shook's valuable studies on the army's role in Texas from 1865 to 1870 and to add to Pfanz's work on soldiering in Reconstruction. However, further study is still needed to investigate the differences and similarities of the volunteers and Regular soldiers in Reconstruction Texas as the Regulars began to dominate and expand occupation duties in 1866, examine city and county records where the volunteers were stationed, and explore why the volunteers paid relatively little attention to issues relating to the freedmen.

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